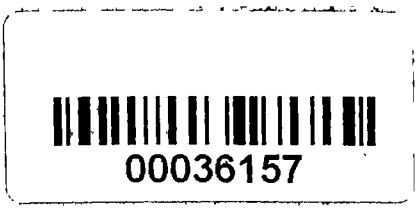
God.
968
The/His
36157

00036157



Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019

HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

36157 ac

BY

GEORGE McCALL THEAL, LITT.D., LL.D.

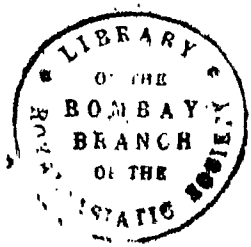
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AMSTERDAM, CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON, ETC., ETC., ETC., FORMERLY KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPE COLONY, AND AT PRESENT COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHER

WITH SIXTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. V.

THE CAPE COLONY AND NATAL TO 1872, GRIQUALAND WEST TO 1880, GREAT NAMAQUALAND, DAMARALAND, TRANSKEI, TEMBULAND, AND GRIQUALAND EAST TO 1885, PONDOLAND AND THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORY TO 1894



LONDON
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO., LIM.
25 HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY
1908

All rights reserved

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The latest and most complete edition of this work consists of:—

History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi from the settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795.

In three volumes.

Volume I contains a description of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu, an account of the first voyages round the Cape of Good Hope of the Portuguese, the French, the English, and the Dutch, and a history of the Portuguese in South Africa in early times.

Volumes II and III contain a history of the administration of the Dutch East India Company in South Africa, &c., &c.

History of South Africa since September 1795.

In five volumes.

Volume I contains a history of the Cape Colony from 1795 to 1828 and an account of the Zulu wars of devastation and the formation of new Bantu communities.

Volume II contains a history of the Cape Colony from 1828 to 1846, a history of Natal from 1824 to 1845, and an account of the proceedings of the emigrant farmers in the territory between the Orange and Limpopo rivers from 1836 to 1847.

Volume III contains a history of the Cape Colony from 1846 to 1860, of Natal from 1845 to 1857, of British Kaffraria from 1847 to 1860, and of the Orange River Sovereignty and the Transvaal Republic from 1847 to 1854.

Volume IV contains a history of the Orange Free State, the South African Republic, Zululand, Basutoland, Betshuanaland, and Matabeleland from 1854 to 1872.

Volume V is the one in the reader's hands.

Each of these volumes is indexed and may be had separately from the others.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER LXVII.

SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, 4TH OF JULY 1860 TO 15TH OF AUGUST 1861.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROBERT HENRY WYNYARD, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, 15TH OF AUGUST 1861 TO 15TH OF JANUARY 1862.

Different position of the governor of the Cape Colony before and after 1872.—First visit of Prince Alfred to South Africa.—Great hunt at Hartebeest Hoek.—Commencement of the construction of a breakwater in Table Bay.—Change of name of Port Frances to Port Alfred.—Legalisation of English weights and measures only in the Cape Colony.—Effort of the British settlers of Albany to have the eastern province formed into a distinct colony.—Commencement of the construction of a dock in Table Bay.—Construction of lighthouses on Robben Island and in Simon's Bay, of a railway from Capetown to Wynberg, and a telegraph line from East London to Simonstown.—Introduction of Angora goats.—Unrest in Zululand.—Dealings of the Natal government with Ketshwayo. — Panic in Natal caused by Ketshwayo's action.—Prompt measures adopted by Sir George Grey. — Promotion of education by Sir George Grey. — Establishment of a theological seminary at Stellenbosch.—Divergent views of Sir George Grey and a very large party in England as to the extension of British rule in South Africa.—Departure of Sir George Grey.—Presentation by Sir George Grey of a valuable library to the Cape Colony.—Arrival of Sir Philip Wodehouse as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner 1

CHAPTER LXVIII.

PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, ESQRE. (AFTER SEPTEMBER 1862 SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE), GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 15TH OF JANUARY 1862, RETIRED 20TH OF MAY 1870.

Positions held by Sir Philip Wodehouse before becoming governor of the Cape Colony.—Depression throughout the colony.—Immigration and emigration of Europeans.—Proceedings during the session of the Cape parliament in 1862.—Tour of the governor through British Kaffraria.—Proceedings regarding the Transkeian territory.—Rejection by the parliament of the governor's bill to annex British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.—Progress in the construction of railways.—Occupation of the last Bushman territory in the Cape Colony.—Dealings with the Bushmen.—Proceedings during the session of the Cape parliament in 1863.—Result of a general election.—Proceedings during the session of the Cape parliament held in Grahamstown in 1864.—Increase of taxation.—Revenue of the Cape Colony.—Creation of the eastern districts court.—Increase of the mail service with England.—Distress in the colony.—Domestication of the ostrich.—Account of British troops in South Africa.—Particulars of the census of 1865 of the Cape Colony 21

CHAPTER LXIX.

ABANDONMENT OF THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

Condition of the Transkeian territories after 1858.—Succession of magistrates at Idutywa.—Negotiations with the Tembus of Glen Grey for an exchange of land.—Conditions under which it was proposed to locate Europeans in the Transkeian territory.—Dealings with Kreli.—Determination of the secretary of state for the colonies to withdraw British dominion from the Transkei.—Restoration of a portion of the territory to Kreli.—Renewal of negotiations with the Tembus of Glen Grey, who obtain a large tract of land in the Transkei, but give up nothing in exchange.—Dealings with Nonesi.—Futile attempt to obtain the Gaika location in exchange for ground east of the Kei.—Location of Fingos beyond the Kei.—Policy adopted towards the tribes and clans there.—Feud between the Tembus and the Xosas.—European settlements in Tembuland.—War between the Tembus and Xosas.—Account of the Fingos in the Transkei.—Description of Griqualand East.—Dealings with Faku.—

Tribes and clans between the Umtata river and Natal.—Dealings of the Natal government with Faku.—Proceedings of Nehemiah Moshesh. — Location of Adam Kok's Griquas in Nomansland.—Ejection of Nehemiah Moshesh by the Griquas.—Location of various Bantu clans in the remainder of the territory.—General discord and strife 44

CHAPTER LXX.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, *(continued)*.

Objections of the majority of the European inhabitants of British Kaffraria to annexation to the Cape Colony.—Visit of Sir Philip Wodehouse to King-Williamstown.—Removal of Lieutenant-Governor Maclean to Natal.—Passing of a provisional annexation act by the imperial parliament.—Stormy debate in the Cape parliament.—Amalgamation of an annexation bill and an additional representation bill.—Passing of the amalgamated bill.—Completion of the annexation.—Statistics of British Kaffraria at the time.—Great gale in Table Bay and loss of many vessels.—Partial destruction of the village of Swellendam by fire.—Distress throughout the Cape Colony.—Proceedings of parliament in 1866.—Conflict between the governor and the parliament.—Loss of life from an epidemic of low fever.—Conditions of the water supply of Capetown.—Proceedings of parliament in 1867.—Reduction in number of the British troops in South Africa.—Failure of the governor's plan for diminishing the power of parliament.—Exhibition of the first diamond found in South Africa.—Imports of the Cape Colony from 1862 to 1867.—Comparative trade through the different ports.—Exports from 1862 to 1867 70

CHAPTER LXXI.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, *(continued)*.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CHARLES CRAWFURD HAY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT, 20TH OF MAY TO 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

Second visit of Prince Alfred to South Africa.—Wreck of the transport *Bosphorus*.—Condition of the Cape Colony in 1868.

—Disturbed condition of the northern border.—Principal Korana clans there.—Appointment of a special magistrate and enrolment of a force termed the northern border police.—Dealings with the Bushmen.—Operations against the Korana insurgents.—Result of the general election of 1869.—Conflict between the governor and the parliament.—Rejection of the governor's measures.—Dissolution of the house of assembly and appeal by Sir Philip Wodehouse to the country to decide upon the future form of government.—Construction of a railway from Port Nolloth to Ookiep by the Cape Copper Mining Company.—Destructive fire in the Knysna, Humansdorp, and Uitenhage districts.—Destructive floods in the midland districts.—Wrecks in a gale at Algoa Bay.—Result of the governor's appeal to the country.—Proceedings of the Cape parliament in the session of 1870.—Particulars concerning the public debt.—Retirement of Sir Philip Wodehouse as governor of the Cape Colony.—Celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers.—Opening of the docks in Table Bay.—Purchase by the government of the harbour works at Port Alfred.—Experiments in the cultivation of silk, flax, and cotton in the Cape Colony.—Change for the better in the seasons 95

CHAPTER LXXII.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

Arrival of Sir Henry Barkly as governor and high commissioner.—Lengthy tour of the new governor.—Proceedings of the Cape parliament in the session of 1871.—Divergent views of the governor and the members of the executive council.—Debate on the introduction of responsible government.—Proceedings regarding federation.—Passing of the responsible government bill by the house of assembly.—Its rejection by the legislative council.—Attitude of the various sections of colonists towards federation.—Report of the federation commission.—Creation of the district of Wodehouse.—Improvement of the harbour of East London.—Commencement of the construction of railways in the eastern province.—Price of Kaffir labour.—Destructive flood at the village of Victoria West 114

CHAPTER LXXIII.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, (*continued*).

Attitude of different parties towards responsible government.—The governor's speech at the opening of parliament.—Division lists in the house of assembly regarding responsible government.—Passing of the responsible government bill through the legislative council.—Protest of eastern province members against the measure.—Failure of the eastern province members to obtain separation of the provinces or removal of the seat of government.—Creation of the new electoral division of Wodehouse.—Reform in the manner of electing members of the legislative council. — Construction of a graving dock in Table Bay.—Purchase of the existing railways by the government.—Construction of new lines of railway.—Purchase of the existing line of electric telegraph by the government, and its extension. — Passing of the voluntary bill. — Formation of the first responsible ministry. — Retirement of the former heads of departments.—Particulars concerning imperial troops in South Africa.—Disbandment of the Cape mounted rifle regiment.—Constitution of the colonial defensive forces. — Statistics of schools. — Rapid communication with England. — Wreck of shipping at East London.—Imports and exports of the Cape Colony from 1868 to 1872.—Revenue and expenditure to 1872 134

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL.

Transkei and Tembuland.

Progress of the Fingos in prosperity.—Annexation of Fingoland and Idutywa to the Cape Colony.—Condition of the Galekas.—Quarrel at a marriage party.—Resulting hostilities between the Galekas and the Fingos.—Attacks by Galekas upon the colonial police.—Particulars of the ninth Kaffir war.—Rebellion of the Rarabe clans.—Utter defeat of the Galekas and their retreat over the Bashee.—Occupation of Galekaland by colonial forces. —Settlement of the territory as a dependency of the colony.—Mode of government of the united Transkeian districts.—Formal annexation of Galekaland.—Condition of the Tembu

tribe.—Murder of a Galeka woman by Gangelizwe.—Events that resulted from the murder.—Cession of Tembuland Proper to the Cape government.—Its division into magisterial districts.—Rebellion of some of the clans.—Prudent conduct of Gangelizwe.—Extension of authority over Emigrant Tembuland.—Account of the Bomvanas.—Cession of Bomvanaland to the Cape Colony by the chief Moni and his people.—Union of Tembuland Proper, Emigrant Tembuland, and Bomvanaland under a chief magistrate.—Insurrection in Tembuland.—Settlement of the territory after the restoration of order.—Growth of the town of Umtata.—Formal annexation to the Cape Colony of the several districts of Tembuland.—Population of the territory.—Death of several chiefs.—Note on the suppression of the revolt of the Gaikas west of the Kei ... 154

CHAPTER LXXV.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL, (*continued*).

Griqualand East.

Appointment of a British resident in Nomansland.—Condition of the territory at the time.—Reception of the Pondomsis as British subjects.—Rebellion of Langálibalele in Natal.—Dealings with Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa.—Extension of colonial authority over the Griquas.—Dealings with Nehemiah Moshesh.—Reception of the Bacas as British subjects.—Suppression of a Griqua revolt.—Annexation to the Cape Colony of the districts of Maclear, Qumbu, Tsolo, Matatiele, Kokstad, Umzimkulu, and Mount Frere, thereafter termed the chief magistracy of Griqualand East.—Form of government of the territory.—Rebellion of several clans.—Murder of colonial officials.—Events at Tsolo.—Suppression of the revolt.—Settlement of the conquered districts.—Formation of the new district of Mount Fletcher.—Condition of the Xesibes.—Reception of the Xesibes as British subjects.—Attitude of the Pondos.—Creation of the magisterial district of Mount Ayliff.—Trouble caused by the feud between the Pondos and the Xesibes.—Formal annexation of Mount Ayliff to the Cape Colony.—Method of administering justice.—Growth of Kokstad.—Population of the territory.—Necessity for the extension of civilised authority over Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East 182

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL, (*continued*).

Pondoland.—I.

Backwardness of the Pondos.—Doubtful origin of the tribe.—Condition of the Pondos.—Extension of British authority over Port St. John's.—Position of the chiefs Umqikela and Ndamasi to each other.—Death of Ndamasi and accession of his son Nquiliso.—Cession by Nquiliso of Port St. John's.—Occupation of the port by British troops.—Annexation of the port to the Cape Colony.—Its trade at the time.—Conduct of Umqikela and his advisers.—Attempt to play off Natal against the Cape Colony.—Action taken by the secretary for native affairs.—Attack by the Pondos upon the Xesibes.—Anarchy in Pondoland East.—Attempt by Umqikela to open a new harbour on his coast.—Disturbance between the Pondos and the Bacas.—Visit of a Pondo deputation to Capetown.—Disturbance between the Pondos and the Hlubi headman William Nota.—Arrangement between the secretary for native affairs and Nquiliso.—Dealings with Pali, chief of the Amatshezi.—Unsuccessful mission of Mr. W. E. Stanford to Pondoland.—Constant disturbances on the border.—Policy of the chiefs of Pondoland East.—Numerous charges of dealing in witchcraft.—Rapid increase in number of the Pondos.—Arming of the Bacas and Xesibes by the colonial government and strengthening of the military force on the border.—Fighting between the tribes.—Note regarding education in Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, and Pondoland 209

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL, (*continued*).

Pondoland.—II.

Ordinary life of Bantu.—Conduct of Umhlangaso.—Battle between the Amanci and the Xesibes.—Position assumed by Umqikela.—Action of the legislative council of Natal.—Instructions of the secretary of state for the colonies.—Return of thefts by

and from Pondos.—Invasion of Mount Ayliff by a Pondo army.—Strengthening of the government forces on the border.—Negotiations with Umqikela.—Settlement of all Pondo grievances.—Death of Umqikela.—Accession of Sigcawu as paramount chief of the eastern Pondos.—Continuation of disorder.—State of affairs in Western Pondoland.—Transactions of Umhlangaso with some German visitors.—Rebellion of Umhlangaso against Sigcawu.—Use made of British territory by the rebels.—Friendly conduct of Sigcawu towards the colonial authorities.—Cession of Western Pondoland by Nquiliso to Great Britain.—Conditions of the cession.—Cession of Eastern Pondoland by Sigcawu.—Annexation of the whole of Pondoland to the Cape Colony.—Division of the country into magisterial districts.—Population in 1894.—Settlement of Umhlangaso in the district of Kokstad.—Area of Pondoland.—Population of the whole territory between the river Kei and Natal in 1904.—Note on the rate of increase of the Bantu under European rule 23

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

FORMATION OF THE CROWN COLONY OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

Proclamation of British authority over the diamond fields.—The case for Waterboer.—Bitter feeling in the republics.—Result upon the coloured people.—Riots at the diamond fields.—Resolutions of a mass meeting of diggers.—Refusal of the Cape parliament to annex the territory.—Desire of the diggers as to government.—Condition of the principal mine.—Sensational robberies of diamonds.—Thefts of diamonds by black servants.—Renewal of rioting.—Demands of the diggers.—Concessions of the commissioners.—Action of Sir Henry Barkly.—Tenor of proclamations issued by him.—Visit of the high commissioner to the diamond fields.—Replacement of the triumvirate by a single administrator.—Creation of an executive council.—Course of the correspondence between the high commissioner and the president of the Free State.—Serious illness of President Brand.—Appointment of an executive committee to act during the president's illness.—Action of the volksraad.—Erection of Griqualand West into a crown colony.—Formation of three electoral divisions.—Particulars concerning each of these divisions.—Form of the administration.—Creation of a legislative council.—Particulars concerning the franchise.—Names of the first members elected.—Change of Mr. Richard Southey's title from administrator to lieutenant-governor.—Measures for suppressing illicit diamond buying 256

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ANNEXATION OF GRIQUALAND WEST TO THE CAPE COLONY.

Unpopularity of the new government.—Increased cost of obtaining diamonds.—Seizure of arms by the Orange Free State.—Action of Sir Henry Barkly regarding it.—Compliance under protest of the Free State government with the demand to surrender the arms.—Failure of the overture of the Free State to have a boundary decided upon and beaconed off.—Encounter between a Free State force and a party of Basuto.—Action of discontented men at the diamond fields.—Despatch of a military force from Capetown to the diamond fields.—Appointment of a commission to inquire into and register claims to land. Failure of the commission to effect its object.—Passing of a land settlement ordinance.—Decision of the land court.—Retirement of Lieutenant-Governor Southey and appointment of Major Lanyon as administrator.—Mission of President Brand to England.—Settlement of the dispute with the Free State.—Passing by the Cape parliament of an act to annex Griqualand West.—Condition of the diamond fields at the time.—Rebellion of the Griquas, Koranas, and Betshuana in the province.—General unrest of the southern Bantu.—Account of the expedition to Pokwane.—Account of the operations against the insurgents in Griqualand West.—Relief of Kuruman by a force from Kimberley.—Close of the hostilities.—Expedition to the Batlapin and Batlaro country.—Retirement of Major Lanyon.—Proclamation of the act incorporating Griqualand West in the Cape Colony 281

CHAPTER LXXX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MAKOLOLO TRIBE AND OF THE HERERO WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Formation of the Makololo tribe.—Career of the chief Sebetoané.—Account of the Bangwaketse tribe.—Death of the warrior chief Makaba.—Account of the Bakwena tribe.—Succession of Setsheli to the chieftainship.—Account of the Bamangwato tribe.—Arrival of Sebetoané on the Zambesi.—Settlement of the Makololo there as the dominant power.—Attack by a Matabele band.—Removal of the Makololo to Linyanti on the Tshobe river.—Visit of the reverend Dr. Livingstone to Linyanti.—Death of Sebetoané.—Succession of Sekeletu to the chieftainship.—Second visit of Dr. Livingstone to Linyanti.—His ex-

ploration of the country.—His journey to St. Paul de Loanda and back.—His journey to Kilimane.—Attempt to establish a mission with the Makololo.—Fate of the mission party.—Death of Sekeletu.—Total destruction of the Makololo tribe.—Rise of the Barotsi power.—War between the Ovaherero and the Namaqua Hottentots.—Strength of the combatants.—Particulars concerning the Hottentots.—Account of the Rhenish mission.—First attack upon Otjimbingue.—Part taken by Europeans in the war.—Second attack upon Otjimbingue.—Destruction of mission stations.—Third attack upon Otjimbingue.—Treatment of Europeans by the petty captain Jacob Bois.—Action of the Cape government.—Settlement of mixed breeds in Great Namaqualand.—Final defeat of the Hottentots at Omukaru.—Conclusion of peace.—Independence of the Ovaherero 304

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ANNEXATION OF WALFISH BAY TO THE CAPE COLONY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A GERMAN PROTECTORATE IN SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA.

Condition of the inhabitants of Great Namaqualand and Hereroland.—Conduct of Kamaherero.—Migration of a party of farmers from the South African Republic to the country west of the Kalahari desert.—Alarm of the Herero chiefs.—Request for British interference.—Resolution of the Cape parliament in favour of annexing the territory as far north as Walfish Bay.—Mission of Mr. Palgrave to the country.—Report of Mr. Palgrave.—Request of the Herero chiefs for the appointment of a British official to be their head.—Different attitude of the Hottentot captains.—Second mission of Mr. Palgrave to Hereroland.—Arrangement with Kamaherero regarding British officials.—Condition of things in the Cape Colony.—View of the secretary of state.—Proclamation of British sovereignty over Walfish Bay and a small extent of territory around it.—Annexation of this territory to the Cape Colony.—Position of Jan Jonker Afrikaner.—Expedition for the relief of the emigrant farmers.—Examination of the coast from Cape Frio to Walfish Bay.—Condition of the emigrant farmers.—Appointment of a British resident at Okahandja.—Recruitment of Berg Damaras for service in the Cape Colony.—Outbreak of war again between the Hereros and the Hottentots.—Massacre of Hottentots.—Recall of the British resident.—Defeat of the Hottentots at Barmen.—Despatch of volunteers to protect Walfish Bay.—Purchase of territory by a German merchant from a Hottentot captain.—Communications between the

Prussian and British governments.—Action of the Cape government.—Final mission of Mr. Palgrave.—Proclamation of a German protectorate over the coast from Cape Frio to the Orange river, excepting Walfish Bay.—Dispute regarding the guano islands.—Subsequent extension of the German protectorate far inland 326

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE COLONY OF NATAL. 1857 TO 1872.

Succession of heads of the government.—Causes of the small number of European immigrants.—Various efforts to obtain British immigrants.—Introduction of labourers from India.—Influx of other Asiatics.—Baneful effects upon the white colonists.—Efforts to promote commerce with the republics.—Construction of harbour works.—Opening of the first railway in South Africa.—Construction of a lighthouse on the Bluff.—Effect of a great storm.—Progress of sugar planting.—Experiments in cotton growing.—Progress of coffee planting.—Account of other agricultural industries.—Losses of cattle by redwater.—Progress in educational institutions and courts of law.—Enlargement of the colony.—Particulars concerning the Bantu.—Strife between the executive and the elected members of the council.—Alteration of the constitution.—Reckless speculations in the colony.—Commercial disasters.—Effect of the discovery of diamonds along the Vaal.—Ecclesiastical matters.—Shipwrecks at the port.—Population returns.—Condition of Maritzburg and Durban.—Particulars concerning the revenue.—Amount of the public debt.—Troops and volunteers in Natal.—Particulars concerning the imports and exports.—Death of the Zulu chief Panda and accession of Ketshwayo.—Preservation of peace 349

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Condition of Portugal and of South-Eastern Africa.—Cession by a Bantu chief of a tract of land north of the Espirito Santo.—Whale fishing in Delagoa Bay.—Survey of the coast by Captain Owen.—His dealings with chiefs at Delagoa Bay.—Description of the people living there.—Advantages of Delagoa Bay.—New names given to rivers.—Captain Owen's report

upon Mozambique and Sofala.—His account of the slave trade.—Visit of Commodore Nourse to Delagoa Bay.—Dealings of the Portuguese with the Bantu tribes there.—Destruction of a Portuguese force.—Grant of a monopoly of the commerce at the bay to a whaling company.—Ravages of hordes of Bantu fleeing from Tshaka.—Career of Swangendaba and the Angoni.—Great battle on the Sabi river.—Terrible destruction of life caused by the Matshangana under Manikusa.—Destruction of the fort at Delagoa Bay and murder of the entire garrison.—Destruction of Inhambane, Sofala, and Sena.—Reoccupation of Sena on condition of payment of tribute to Manikusa.—Temporary separation of the government of the Rivers from Mozambique.—Havoc created among the Bantu.—Reoccupation of the Portuguese stations.—Census of Lourenço Marques in 1878.—Account of the prazos south of the Zambesi.—Occupation of Tshiloane and Santa Carolina.—Particulars concerning the slave trade.—Laws regarding commerce.—Creation of a council for the province.—Reoccupation of Zumbo.—Progress of geographical knowledge.—Journeys across the continent 373

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, (*continued*).

Effect upon the importance of Delagoa Bay of the occupation of the interior by Europeans.—Declaration of British sovereignty over the islands Inyaka and Elephant.—Account of the civil war in the Matshangana tribe.—Conduct of the chief Umzila towards the Portuguese.—Conclusion of a treaty between the Portuguese and the South African Republic.—Submission to arbitration of Great Britain's claim to the southern and eastern shores of Delagoa Bay.—Adverse decision of the president of the French republic.—Exploration of the Limpopo river from the junction of the Shashi to the sea.—Construction of a railway from Lourenço Marques to the interior.—Present condition of Lourenço Marques.—Foundation of the town of Beira.—Particulars concerning the dispute between Great Britain and Portugal as to the possession of the interior.—Occupation of Rhodesia by the British South Africa Chartered Company.—Dealings with the chief Umtasa.—Services performed by Gouveia.—Occurrences between British and Portuguese officials at Umtasa's kraal.—Defeat of Portuguese volunteers by British police.—Treaty between

Great Britain and Portugal fixing a boundary and providing commercial facilities.—Construction of a railway from Beira inland.—Description of Beira.—Account of the Mozambique Company.—Insurrection of Nyaude and his son Bonga.—Description of Tete.—Successful war with Gungunyana.—Condition of the country at present 392

List of printed books and pamphlets containing information on South Africa in recent times 415

Chronological list of principal events in South African history ... 436

Notes on the Bushmen and their language 447

Index 463

CHARTS.

XV. THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND NATAL - - - - - - - - - *facing page* 255

XVI. PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA - - - - - „ 413

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA
SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795.

CHAPTER LXVII.

SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, 4TH OF JULY 1860 TO 15TH OF AUGUST 1861.
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROBERT HENRY WYNYARD, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, 15TH OF AUGUST 1861 TO 15TH OF JANUARY 1862.

THOUGH the second term of Sir George Grey's government of the Cape Colony was very short, covering only thirteen months, it was marked by some events of importance. It could not have been otherwise, when a man of his commanding ability was at the head of affairs. Under the present system of government less depends upon the personal qualifications of the governor than upon those of the prime minister, but under the system in operation from 1854 to 1872 the governor was the controller of the administration and the initiator of public measures of every kind. He was the brain, the highest officials were merely the hands. Most men, upon receiving such a stunning blow as had been dealt to Sir George Grey by the annulling of his magnificent plans for the unification, peace, and prosperity of the country, would have become nerveless and apathetic; but his was a nature that could rise unharmed by the shock. Foiled in one direction, he could turn to another, and still strive earnestly and vigorously for the welfare of the community over which he was placed and of the great realm of which his immediate charge was but a tiny part.

It was at his suggestion that Prince Alfred, second son of her Majesty the queen, paid his first visit to South Africa. This was an event in which every one, white and black, took a keen interest, it being the first occasion on which a member of the royal family was seen in this part of the British dominions. The prince, then a midshipman in the steam frigate *Euryalus,* arrived in Simon's Bay on the 24th of July 1860, and in the afternoon of the next day reached Capetown, where every possible demonstration of welcome was made by the inhabitants as well as by the officials and the troops in the garrison.

A short visit to Stellenbosch, the Paarl, and Drakenstein followed, with which the prince expressed himself greatly pleased, though at that season of the year, when the trees and vines are leafless, those localities are not seen at their best. The hearty reception which was accorded to the royal visitor was sufficient to show, if such proof had been wanting, that the Dutch speaking colonists were as thoroughly loyal to her Majesty the queen as any people not of English descent could possibly be.

After this short tour in the oldest part of the colony the prince proceeded by sea to Port Elizabeth, and then, accompanied by Sir George Grey and a suitable retinue, commenced a journey overland which ended at Port Natal. The route followed was eastward through Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, and Alice, to King-Williamstown. Along this line there is in many places very grand scenery, and everywhere something of interest can be observed. It passes through the heart of the territory that for three quarters of a century had been the battle ground of the white immigrants moving up from the west and the black immigrants moving down from the east, where no trace of the aboriginal inhabitants was left except their paintings on the rocks and their stone implements scattered about as they were lost or thrown away on the veld. Every hill and valley and little plain on that line, though then quiet and peaceful looking, had its story of battle or slaughter in the not very distant past.

The prince, who was fond of hunting, had several opportunities of shooting antelopes on the way. The nights were somewhat cold, but the days were mild and cloudless. August is the pleasantest month for travelling in that part of South Africa, being usually almost rainless, and always free from excessive heat.

From King-Williamstown the party turned to the north, but still continued through a country of ever varying and often grand scenery, where many warlike exploits could be recounted as having taken place. Windvogelberg was passed, the residence of the last Bushman who lived in the territory for a great distance around, and from whom the mountain has its name. Then Queenstown was reached and left behind, and keeping onward the party arrived at Bushman's Hoek, where the road wound up the face of the wall that bounds the interior plain. A steep road it was to climb, but from the top the view stretching over a vast expanse of country to the south amply repaid the travellers.

They were now on the great plain drained by the Orange river and its branches, and for many days the scenery was dull and devoid of interest. They passed through Burghersdorp, and kept on till Aliwal North was reached, nothing of note occurring on the way. Here Moshesh with a large party of Basuto met the travellers, and the old chief testified his joy in approved Bantu manner by dancing or capering about in the road before the prince. He met with a reception that pleased him exceedingly, as indeed did many other Bantu chiefs during the long journey. It was highly desirable that they and their followers, whether subjects of her Majesty or independent, should be gratified as much as possible, and for Prince Alfred it was no effort to make himself affable to all. On the way between Fort Beaufort and Burghersdorp he had visited the missionary institutions at Healdtown, Lovedale, and Lesseyton, and expressed a warm interest in the efforts being made for the advancement of the coloured people.

At Aliwal North the party crossed the Orange river and entered the Free State. It did not seem to Prince Alfred or

to Sir George Grey, however, that they were in a foreign country, for the people they met and by whom they were warmly welcomed differed in no respect whatever from those living in the British colony they had left behind. There were many English speakers among them too, who took care to remind their visitors that they had been abandoned by Great Britain very much against their own will. The party passed through Smithfield, and went on to Bloemfontein, the seat of government.

A grand hunt had been arranged to take place at Hartebeest Hoek, a farm belonging to Mr. Andrew Bain, about five miles or eight kilómetres from Bloemfontein. At that time, although vast numbers of all kinds of wild animals native to the country had been destroyed for the sake of their flesh or their skins, or in mere wantonness, an immense number still remained. Moroko's Barolong had been engaged for some days in driving game, and by the time the prince arrived it was estimated that from twenty to thirty thousand large animals —white tailed gnus, Burchell's zebras, hartebeests, blesboks, bonteboks, springboks, ostriches, &c. — had been collected together in a small area. No European prince had ever seen such a number and variety of wild animals in one spot before, and no one will ever have such a sight in South Africa again, for they have nearly all been shot down years ago or have died of imported diseases. The day of the grand hunt was the most exciting one in the journey, although much game had been previously seen and shot.

From Bloemfontein the journey was continued northward to Winburg, where President Pretorius, who was returning from a visit to the Transvaal, met the party and had an interview with the prince and Sir George Grey. The course here turned to the east, and lay through Harrismith to Van Reenen's pass in the Drakensberg, where the great plain was left behind, and the party was once more in the midst of wild and grand mountain scenery.

The travellers now entered the colony of Natal, but were still at a great height above the level of the sea. They passed

down through the village of Colenso, and went on to Maritzburg, visiting the falls of the Umgeni on the way. Then the route lay through Pinetown to Durban, where the long land journey ended. At every place of the slightest importance along this extensive line there were enthusiastic assemblages of people, gaily decorated arches, illuminations, bonfires, and festivities, while escorts of volunteers attended from town to town.

At Durban the *Euryalus* was waiting, and on board were the Gaika chief Sandile, the reverend Tiyo Soga, and Mr. Charles Brownlee, who had been invited to accompany the prince to Capetown and had been taken in on her passage up the coast. It was supposed that Sandile would be impressed with a sense of awe on seeing the working of a ship of war, but he did not give himself the trouble to think at all about the matter, and took no more interest in the ship and her engines than a little child would have done. He understood, however, the cause of the marks of respect paid by everyone to the prince, and realised from what he saw that somewhere over the water there was a real living sovereign of great power, which he had previously believed to be somewhat mythical.

Having proceeded to Simon's Bay, the prince landed again, and on the 17th of September tilted the first load of stones in the great breakwater in Table Bay. On the following day he laid the foundation stone of the Sailors' Home in Capetown,—which was opened for use on the 25th of April 1862,—and inaugurated the South African public library in its fine new building beside the main avenue of the gardens. This was Prince Alfred's last public act during his first and most memorable visit, and on the 19th of September he embarked in the *Euryalus* and sailed for England.

The people of Port Frances had been anxious that the queen's son should inaugurate the construction of a new sea wall at that place, and they also wished to give his name to the mouth of the river, with a view of bringing the harbour into greater prominence. Through pressure of time

the prince was unable to comply with their desires, but he deputed Captain Tarleton, of the *Euryalus*, to represent him in driving the first pile of the new pier. This was done on the 20th of August 1860, when Port Frances was renamed Port Alfred, a designation by which it has ever since been known.

Before 1861 the weights and measures generally used in the colony were those introduced by the Dutch East India Company, though many of the English settlers bought and sold according to those of Great Britain. This double system often caused much confusion in accounts. In the same village, for instance, one shopkeeper would sell calico by the ell of twenty-seven Rhynland inches, and another by the yard of thirty-six English inches, the inch itself being slightly shorter in the latter case. It was evident that uniformity would be advantageous, and it was equally so that the same weights and measures should be used in the Cape Colony as in every other part of the queen's dominions. The decimal system, which is now coming into favour on account of its simplicity and the necessity of employing it in dealing with foreigners, had then no advocates, as oversea commerce was almost confined to Great Britain. It was therefore enacted that English weights and measures should alone be legal after the 1st of January 1861, and since that date they have been exclusively used, with the single exception of the land measure. To have changed that in the oldest settled districts would have introduced much confusion, and hence the morgen was retained in those parts of the colony.

The land measure, however, was not perfectly uniform in all the grants that had been made since 1657. There was no standard in the colony in the early days by which to rectify a surveyor's chain, and the other instruments employed were far from being as delicate as those now in use. Land was of so little value in those times, even in Capetown, that an absolutely accurate survey was not considered indispensable, and the work was performed in the crudest manner and in

the shortest possible time. The unit of measurement was supposed to be the Rhynland foot, but resurveys during recent years have shown that in general the measure actually employed was a little longer. Thus the oldest diagrams seldom agree with the extent of ground mentioned in the title deeds. Undisputed possession for thirty years, however, fixed the boundaries permanently, so that disputes and lawsuits were avoided.

The session of parliament which was opened by the governor on the 26th of April 1861 was a memorable one. The desire of a large majority of the English speaking colonists in the eastern districts for the establishment of a separate and distinct government had not abated, and at this time the question was the most prominent one in the politics of the country. An association termed the separation league was formed, with branches in all the important towns and villages of the east, meetings were held wherever people could be got together, and addresses were delivered by the leading English politicians in favour of the measure. The principal newspapers also lent their powerful aid, and pamphlets were published and widely distributed. By these means about six thousand signatures to petitions for separation were obtained, and the documents were laid before both houses of parliament. In opposition, petitions representing not more than one thousand individuals were presented, but none were sent in on either side from the western districts.

A bill was drafted to provide for the separation of the eastern province and its establishment as a distinct colony from the west, and on the 16th of May Mr. William Matthew Harries moved, and Mr. Richard Joseph Painter seconded, its first reading in the house of assembly, which took place accordingly. On the 27th of the same month practically the same measure was brought forward in the legislative council by Messrs. Henry Tucker and Charles Pote.

On the 7th of June the second reading was proposed and seconded in the house of assembly, when an animated debate

commenced, which was continued during prolonged sittings on that day, the 8th, 10th, and 11th, during which excitement was high not only in parliament, but everywhere in the community. On one side the question was felt to be the existence of a single strong colony or the substitution of two weak ones, each burdened with the cost of a complete government; on the other the freedom of the eastern section from the injustice in the distribution of public favours and the restraints imposed upon it by the west. The debate was by far the most important event of the session.

The arguments used by the advocates of the measure were to the effect that the eastern districts were making much more rapid strides in material prosperity than the western, but that their interests received much less consideration from parliament. Their public works were neglected, their rivers were unbridged, and their roads were well-nigh impassable, while in the west they were all attended to, and even a great breakwater was being constructed in Table Bay which might prove useless. The public debt was then £564,000, of which £400,000 had been borrowed for improvements in the west and only £164,000 for similar purposes in the east, though they had to pay half of the interest. Even in the matter of compensation for losses by Kaffir raiders they could get nothing; but a western man with claims less strong was awarded payment for damages sustained. The old argument as to the necessity of a strong government near the frontier to deal with the Xosas and Tembus had lost much of its force since 1857, but it was not altogether forgotten, and an endeavour was made to show that those tribes were rapidly recovering their former strength and might soon become formidable again. And finally the great distance from Capetown at which the members for the eastern districts lived prevented them from attending parliament throughout long sessions as the western members could easily do, so that they were often in a helpless minority when measures of the greatest importance to them were brought forward and disposed of.

On the other side, most of these assertions were disputed, and the excess of expenditure in the west was asserted to be caused by the principal officials being necessarily stationed at the seat of government. In the matter of public works, roads, and bridges, it was unreasonable to compare newly settled districts with others long inhabited, and it was claimed that the east was rather favoured than neglected in this matter. In other respects, if separation were to take place and Grahamstown or Uitenhage were to become the seat of government of the eastern province, the people of some of the districts in that province would have much greater reason to be discontented than the advocates of the measure were then.

At the close of the debate on the fourth day the bill was rejected by a majority of seven votes, those in favour of it being Messrs. Aspeling, Botman, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Brand, Cawood, Clough, Darnell, Franklin, Harries, Painter, Scanlen, Slater, Stanton, and Stretch; and those opposed to it Messrs. Blake, Bosman, Van der Byl, Duckitt, Fairbairn, Haupt, Hopley, Kotzé, Louw, Manuel, Munnik, Prince, Proctor, Silberbauer, Solomon, Le Sueur, Theunissen, Walter, F. Watermeyer; P. Watermeyer, White, and Ziervogel.

In the legislative council the measure met with the same fate.

Foiled in this, the same eastern members then endeavoured to carry a measure in favour of the removal of the seat of government, but met with no better success. In this question the members of the party were divided among themselves, some favouring Uitenhage, others Grahamstown, as the capital. It has often been observed that the Dutch speaking colonists can unite readily in the preliminary stages of a great movement, but that when an important measure reaches its last stage, they are certain to quarrel and range themselves on different sides. The observation is correct, as the history of the colony has constantly shown. But this feature of character is not peculiar to them, for here were the English speaking colonists of the east, practically all of whom were desirous of removal of the seat of government, so influenced

by local jealousy that they were ranged on different sides upon the most important point in the whole question.

Finally, more in the way of pretending that they did not accept their defeat as final than in expectation of meeting with success, three members of the legislative council and thirteen of the house of assembly addressed a petition to the queen, praying that her Majesty would separate the provinces as had been done in two instances in Australia. This, of course, as coming from such a small minority in parliament, also proved a failure.

During this session, which lasted from the 26th of April to the 13th of August, one hundred and ten days, various public works were provided for. The board of commissioners for Table Bay was empowered to commence the construction of a dock, according to a plan furnished by the eminent marine engineer Sir John Coode. This was almost as necessary as the breakwater itself to facilitate the loading and unloading of ships, and ensure their safety. It was enormously expensive, as it had to be excavated in rock along the shore to a depth of seventy English feet, or 21·34 metres, a large portion of the sides had then to be faced with blocks of granite, and an opening to the bay to be made just within the breakwater. The length of the dock thus excavated was to be eleven hundred feet, or 335·28 metres, and the area of the sheet of water enclosed by its walls was to be ten English acres. The want of good natural harbours has always been a drawback to the prosperity of South Africa, and must always remain so, because the charges on shipping to make good the interest on the cost and maintenance of such an expensive artificial harbour as that of Table Bay must necessarily be very high. But in the condition of the country such a work was urgently needed, and it has since proved of the utmost advantage. Nearly nine years were needed for the construction of the dock, which was opened for use on the 17th of May 1870.

Provision was also made for the construction of a light-house on Robben Island. This useful work took over three years to carry out, for it was not until the 1st of January

1865 that the light was exhibited. A lighthouse in Simon's Bay, to replace the old lightship, had already been constructed, and was opened for use on the 16th of September 1861.

The Wynberg Railway Company was incorporated, with a capital of £100,000 in ten thousand shares. Its object was to construct a line of railway to Wynberg from the station at Salt River on the Capetown and Wellington line. The first sod was turned on the 14th of August 1862, and the line was opened for traffic on the 19th of December 1864. It was then leased to the Capetown Railway and Dock Company, that owned the section between Capetown and Salt River, so that its working could be carried on without hindrance or difficulty.

An act was also passed for the construction by the Cape of Good Hope Telegraph Company of a line of electric telegraph from Capetown to Grahamstown. A subsidy of £1,500 a year was to be paid to the Company for fifteen years, for which government messages were to be sent free. The first section of this line that was constructed was between Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, which was opened for use on the 2nd of January 1862. Two years more were needed to complete the line between Port Elizabeth and Capetown, which was opened on the 8th of January 1864. It was then carried onward from Grahamstown to King-Williamstown, which section was completed and opened for use on the 1st of October 1864. A military line had been constructed between King-Williamstown and East London, which was opened for use in January 1861, so that after October 1864 the eastern border of Kaffraria was in direct communication with Capetown. The length of the entire line was then about seven hundred and fifty miles or twelve hundred kilometres.

A line, chiefly for the use of the naval establishment, had previously been constructed between Capetown and Simonstown, and was completed in April 1860. Along the Wellington railway, as it advanced, telegraph wires were

necessarily extended; but for several years after 1864 the colony was unable to afford any other lines than those mentioned.

An account of the introduction of Angora goats into the colony has already been given, but as it was at this time that the production of mohair first became a really important industry, some further reference to the subject seems requisite. Various farmers acquired some of the progeny of the he-goat belonging to Mr. Hendrik Vos and of those belonging to Mr. Korsten, and by several of them much care was bestowed upon the animals. Still the strain of the common goat was so strong that the hair was shorter and coarser than that of the pure breed, though it was sold for eight pence a pound or 1s. 5¾d. a kilogramme, in England, where it attracted considerable attention. Manufacturers there gave assurances of a much higher price for a better article, but for twenty years it was found impossible to procure thoroughbred goats to breed from. When, however, sea voyages were much reduced in length by the use of steamships, there was a better chance of success, as the loss by death on the way to the Cape would be greatly diminished. Mr. Julius Mosenthal, a merchant in Port Elizabeth, then resolved to attempt again to introduce some pure stock.

For this purpose Mr. Adolph Mosenthal proceeded to Asia Minor, where with the assistance of Lord Stratford de Redclyffe he succeeded in obtaining a number of the purest and best of the animals required. These were shipped at a port in the Black sea, and sent by way of the Mediterranean to England, where they were kept some time to recover strength. They were then forwarded to the colony, where thirty of them arrived in the summer of 1856. The choicest of these animals were sold to different farmers at a price of from £80 to £90 each, and after a few seasons the number so increased that the production of mohair of superior quality became one of the established industries of the colony. At a later date other merchants followed the example of Mr.

Mosenthal, notably Messrs. Blaine & Co., of Port Elizabeth, and introduced pure bred animals from Asia Minor, which were shipped at Constantinople, so that the stock was prevented from deteriorating.

While parliament was in session in 1861 intelligence was received from England that Sir George Grey had been appointed again governor of New Zealand, where the presence of a man of the highest ability and tact in dealing with inferior races was urgently needed, owing to the war with the Maories. The members of both houses and the people of South Africa, white and black alike, regarded his presence here as equally necessary, and just at this time an event took place in Zululand which seemed to confirm their opinion.

Ever since the defeat and destruction of Umbulazi and his adherents, Ketshwayo had been the actual ruler of the Zulus, though his father Panda was still the nominal head. The country was in a state of unrest, for many of the tribe were at heart opposed to Ketshwayo, though they were unable to unite and openly resist him. Such a condition of things was a menace to the peace of Natal. In that colony two sons of Panda had taken refuge, who were mere boys, but whose lives would be in danger in their own country, as they were of the faction of Umbulazi. Refugees were continually coming over to them, who reported that the old chief Panda was in favour of a division of the tribe among several of his sons, in preference to the sole rule of Ketshwayo. Sir George Grey, as high commissioner, was in favour of this as a plan of settlement, if it could be done with the full consent of the people and of the old chief, and especially if some agreement could be entered into for the greater security of human life in Zululand.

Lieutenant-Governor Scott, of Natal, however, believed that opposition to Ketshwayo, whether direct or indirect, would be fruitless, and in April 1861 he sent Mr. Theophilus Shepstone to Zululand to acknowledge that chief as his father's heir in the name of the colonial government. In

this way he thought the constant unrest might be brought to an end and the attachment of Ketshwayo be secured.

Mr. Shepstone proceeded on his mission, and found Panda at first indisposed to admit Ketshwayo's claims, but still more indisposed, and indeed physically unfit, to take an active part in any matter. After a little conversation he became weary, and then, to avoid further trouble, promised to agree to whatever Mr. Shepstone should decide upon doing.

Regiments mustering in all from fourteen to fifteen thousand soldiers were then summoned, and on the 16th of May, with great ceremony, in presence of Panda and Mr. Shepstone, heralds proclaimed Ketshwayo the lawful heir of his father, recognised as such by the Natal government. But then something which the Natal government had not anticipated took place. The same heralds presented themselves before Mr. Shepstone, and asked in a tone of demand that the two boys in Natal and the mother of one of them should be surrendered to their legitimate chief. Mr. Shepstone replied that the white man's government could not, and would not, do such a thing, upon which there was much clamour, and some offensive remarks were made, though the envoy was never in any personal danger.

Mr. Shepstone returned to Maritzburg, and it was recognised at once that the plan adopted in hope of securing quietness had been a failure. Then in July came word that Ketshwayo was massing his troops on the border, and a panic among the colonists took place. The wing of the 85th regiment then in garrison, with the few Cape mounted riflemen and artillerymen in the colony, were immediately sent to guard the fords of the Tugela, all the volunteers were called out to assist, the open country was abandoned, and a despatch was sent with all possible haste to the high commissioner urging him to send immediate aid.

Sir George Grey acted with his customary promptitude. The 59th regiment was then under orders to return to England as soon as the second battalion of the 11th should arrive

to relieve it. There were no other troops of the line in the Cape peninsula, but these were embarked in her Majesty's steam frigate *Narcissus*, which happened to be at hand, with so much promptitude that they landed at Durban on the 3rd of August. A naval brigade of three hundred and fifty men was there almost as quickly. The Capetown volunteers mounted guard in the castle and forts until September, when the second battalion of the 11th arrived from England and relieved them of the duty.

Under these circumstances both houses of parliament presented an address to Sir George Grey, urging him to remain until the danger was over or the arrival of his successor, but this he felt himself under the necessity of declining. Then, to the relief of everyone, after a few days came intelligence from Natal that Ketshwayo had withdrawn his regiments from the border, declaring that they had only been sent there on a big hunting excursion, and that nothing was more remote from his mind than hostilities with his white neighbours. He had been practising, in fact, an experiment common among the Bantu, of trying how far he could go without actually committing himself. But for the colonists in Natal such an experiment was very annoying, and if they had been sufficiently strong it would certainly have been resented in such a manner as to prevent its repetition.

By October everything was quiet again, and the 59th regiment embarked for England. The naval brigade had already returned to their ships, and the volunteers to their ordinary occupations.

No other governor has ever done so much to promote the education of youth in South Africa as Sir George Grey. The missionary institutions at Lovedale, Healdtown, Lesseyton, and Zonnebloem, though founded and supported by different religious bodies, could never have grown to be as useful as they became if it had not been for his encouragement and liberal assistance. The Grey Institute at Port Elizabeth, founded in accordance with plans drawn up by him, still perpetuates his name. By the act of parliament

No. 6 of 1856 it was placed under the management of a board consisting of the civil commissioner of the division as chairman, the commissioners of the municipality, and an equal number of members elected by subscribers to the funds or persons paying fees of a certain amount. The institute was then liberally endowed with land, which could be sold or leased according to circumstances. It consisted at first of a collegiate school and two preparatory schools.

The Grey College at Bloemfontein, which he planned and really founded, also perpetuates his name. It was then in the capital of a state discarded by Great Britain, but in whose welfare the broad minded governor took the keenest interest. With its people he felt the warmest sympathy, he regretted to the end of his life that they had been thrown away, and he never ceased to hold them in the highest respect. Forty years later, when his physical strength was gone but his mind was still as active as ever, he could say of them: "I have lived among many nations and in many countries, and I may with all truth say this, that I know no people richer in public and in private virtues than the Boers." *

In founding the college at Bloemfontein his object was to show that the British government still took an interest in the welfare of the people by "the establishment of an institution where the opportunity would be presented of enjoying education in all those branches of knowledge by which the youth of the Free State would be qualified for occupying with credit official positions in the state, or for attending European universities with advantage." For this purpose he contributed, in 1856, from the imperial funds at his disposal £3,000 to be invested by trustees appointed by the synod of the Dutch reformed church in the state, the interest to be applied towards the salary of the rector, and £200 towards the cost of putting up a suitable building. The cost of the roof of the building he contributed from his own

* From "An Interview with the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B.," in the *Humanitarian* of April 1896.

means. The synod accepted the charge, and chose as the first trustees President Boshof, the reverend Andrew Murray then minister of Bloemfontein, and Mr. D. Griessel. Additional funds were raised and the college was established, but could make very little progress before 1872, owing to the difficulties in which the republic was involved. Since 1872 it has been one of the leading educational institutions in South Africa, thus fulfilling the design of its founder.

The same feeling led him to encourage the effort that was made by the Dutch reformed church in the colony to establish a seminary for the training of young men for the ministry. For many years this project had been discussed, but it could never before be carried into execution. After the middle of the century young South Africans who were sent to Holland to be educated often returned with rationalistic views, so that the orthodox colonists considered the church to be in danger, and were anxious to have an institution of their own where the evangelical doctrine as condensed in the Heidelberg catechism should be professed and taught. In 1859 their wishes were carried into execution by the establishment of a theological seminary at Stellenbosch, which was opened on the 1st of November of that year, and has been in full working order ever since.

Sir George Grey wished to place British and colonial settlers on the vacant ground between the Cape Colony and Natal, which would have greatly strengthened the European element in South Africa and have been of advantage to the Bantu in the occupied portions. Strife between the various tribes there was constant, and nothing but English sovereignty supported by a strong body of white men close at hand could put an end to it. As long as it lasted no advance towards civilisation could be made by the people. To give to Europeans the ground between the Kei and the Bashee and that on the terrace at the base of the Drakensberg would not be doing a wrong to any one, and would improve the position of a great many. If it was annexed to British Kaffraria, a strong colony would be formed, capable of

supporting its own government without aid from the imperial treasury,* and permanent peace would be secured. Over the three colonies of the Cape, British Kaffraria, and Natal, there might then be a federal government having control in such matters as the system to be applied to the Bantu, the armed forces required for the preservation of order, the postal service, and the customs tariff, but leaving all other questions to the provincial legislatures.

There are few men to-day who will dispute the wisdom of such a measure or the facility with which it could have been carried out at that time. But in England a very large party, including statesmen of the highest intellect and the purest patriotism, were averse to any extension of the British dominions. They feared to incur increased responsibilities, lest the burden upon the taxpayers should become too heavy to be borne. In their opinion it would be far better to develop the existing possessions than to enlarge them. Their views are entitled to respect, though they are not those held since the general scramble for foreign dependencies by the leading nations of Europe has proved that an opportunity neglected is an opportunity lost for ever.

The high commissioner was therefore unable to carry out this plan for the benefit of South Africa. He was permitted to assign a portion of the upper plateau to Adam Kok and his Griquas, as will be related in another chapter, but not an acre to a white man, and responsibility for the protection of those Griquas or the enforcement of order among them by the British government was distinctly ignored.

On the 15th of August 1861 Sir George Grey embarked in her Majesty's steamship *Cossack*, and left South Africa for

* The revenue of British Kaffraria derived from Europeans was already sufficient to meet the expenditure on their account. It was to cover the cost of governing the Bantu that the imperial treasury was obliged to contribute, as is shown in the following return prepared by the lieutenant-governor. Population in 1861: Europeans 6,705, Bantu 74,648. Revenue during the year: contributed by Europeans £19,949 10*s.* 11*d.*, by blacks £4,758 5*s.* Expenditure: on account of Europeans £18,623 18*s.* 4*d.*, on account of blacks £11,352 11*s.* 9*d.*, on convicts £3,386 8*s.* 5*d.* Exports through East London of wool, hides, and grain to the value of £21,540.

New Zealand. Before him many able men had from time to time governed the Cape Colony, but never one who so entirely enjoyed the confidence of every section of the community, white and black. In this respect he stood above even Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith, both of whom were opposed by little cliques. He had the power that only the greatest men possess, of reconciling and bringing together bodies of people of conflicting views and interests, and leading them on together in the same path of progress. The old colonists who spoke Dutch regarded him as highly as the new colonists who spoke English, and both were equalled in this respect by the swarthy-skinned colonists who spoke different dialects of a language common to the Bantu race. All recognised his great ability, his interest in their welfare, the wisdom of the plans he had formed for the good of South Africa. And to-day who is there that does not admit that if the imperial government had permitted those plans to be carried out, a vast amount of blood and treasure would have been saved to the mother country as well as to South Africa, and instead of the feeling of distrust that now exists between sections of the colonists there would be perfect harmony and good will?

Sir George Grey was a lover of books, and had spent all the money he could spare during his life in adding to two superb collections which he had inherited. In these were many exceedingly rare volumes, ancient illuminated religious books, and works of permanent interest in many departments of knowledge. To these he had added a great number of unpublished manuscripts, particularly upon subjects connected with Polynesian and Bantu customs and languages. The value in money of the whole was about £30,000.

On the 21st of October 1861 he wrote from Auckland to Judge Watermeyer in Capetown, announcing the presentation of this collection of books and manuscripts to the South African Public Library. Two cases of manuscripts accompanied the letter; the books, which were then in England, would be sent out speedily. Eight trustees were

appointed to receive them, and to carry out the donor's intentions. They were Mr. Justice Watermeyer, the attorney-general Mr. William Porter, the astronomer royal Sir Thomas Maclear, Advocate Johannes de Wet, and Messrs. John Fairbairn, Charles Aiken Fairbridge, W. Tasker Smith, and William Hiddingh.

No presentation of equal value had ever been made to the colony before, the Dessinian collection being inferior in every respect. In January 1862 the books, about five thousand in number, began to arrive. They were placed in a room by themselves, which has since been made fireproof, and when all were received and arranged, on the 23rd of April 1864 this section of the public library was opened for the use of students. The eminent philologist Dr. W. Bleek was appointed first custodian of the collection.

In front of the main entrance of the library building, facing the botanic garden, stands a statue of Sir George Grey, erected by the colonists in grateful remembrance of his splendid gift. The statue was unveiled on the 10th of November 1864.

After the departure of Sir George Grey, Lieutenant-General Wynyard acted as administrator until the 15th of January 1862, when the newly appointed governor and high commissioner, Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Esquire, arrived from England in the mail steamer *Cambrian* and took the oaths of office.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, ESQRE., (AFTER SEPTEMBER 1862 SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE), GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 15th OF JANUARY 1862, RETIRED 20th OF MAY 1870.

It would have been difficult for a very able man to fill the place in public estimation that Sir George Grey had occupied, and the new governor had no claim to ability of any other kind than that of a conscientious plodding official. He would have made an admirable head of a department to carry out routine duties, but he was incapable of initiating any new measure of magnitude that would be really useful. He had commenced official life at the early age of seventeen years as a writer in the Ceylon civil service, and had risen to be an assistant judge at Kandy and subsequently to have charge of an extensive district. After more than twenty years service in Ceylon, he was appointed superintendent of British Honduras, and in 1854 was promoted to be governor of British Guiana, There he had succeeded fairly well, because he had no representative institutions to deal with, and he was autocratic by nature as well as by training. He had not the charm of manner of his distinguished predecessor, and was therefore unable to exercise any influence over the Cape parliament or to acquire the affection of the Cape people.

Added to this, at the beginning of his term of office a series of bad seasons caused by severe drought set in, so that agricultural operations failed all over the country, the live stock in many places was greatly reduced by

starvation, and commercial depression followed as a matter of course. At the same time the imperial government reduced its grant in aid of the Kaffrarian revenue and pressed for a contribution from the Cape Colony towards the maintenance of the troops, so that the financial condition of the country was cheerless. Poverty breeds discontent, and discontent leads to fault-finding with the governing powers, so that the measures of Sir Philip Wodehouse underwent sharper criticism than they would have done in prosperous times.

Immigrants from Great Britain were still arriving under the system described in a previous chapter. On the 5th of February 1862 the *Matilda Atheling* arrived in Algoa Bay with two hundred and sixty-nine, on the 10th of March the *John Vanner* brought two hundred and thirty-eight to Capetown, and on the 9th of June the *Adelaide* brought two hundred and sixty to Port Elizabeth. These were the last to come out. In this year £15,000 was voted by parliament to introduce farm labourers, and £6 was offered towards the cost of passage of every artisan, but farm labourers were not to be obtained, and the accounts of the condition of the colony which reached England prevented mechanics from trying their fortunes here. Government aid was then withdrawn, and presently, as the depression in all branches of industry increased, a tide of emigration began to set out. Many hundreds of those who had been brought to South Africa at the public expense, finding that the expectations they had entertained with regard to this country were not likely to be realised, removed to New Zealand and the United States.

The number that had been brought out during the last few years was in reality greater than the colony could absorb, and the same selection that had often before taken place came into operation again. In early days those who were unfit to make a living in the country were sent away by the government, in this case they left of their own accord. In general, the frugal and persevering among them, those

who were capable of turning their attention to a new occupation when the one they had been engaged in failed, those who were willing to undergo some privation for a time in the determination to succeed in the end, remained in the country; those who were unwilling to live in any other way than they had been accustomed to in England, and who were disappointed when they found that money was only to be obtained by industry or mental ability, went elsewhere to look for it.

From Germany and Holland for several years immigrants had been arriving, and these remained in the country. The Germans were all farm labourers, sent out by Messrs. Godeffroy from Hamburg to applicants for their services who entered into formal engagements with Mr. William Berg, of Capetown, to employ them for at least two years at a fixed rate of wages and to pay £12 for the passage of each statute adult upon his or her arrival. Since 1858 about three hundred had been introduced every year, and this number was now reduced to one hundred and twenty. These German immigrants, being thrifty and laborious in a very high degree, managed to improve their circumstances rapidly in the colony, notwithstanding the severe depression. The Hollanders migrated without previous engagements, but they too managed by frugality to better their condition. About one hundred and thirty arrived in 1862 from Amsterdam.

On the 24th of April, when parliament met, the governor in his opening speech declared himself opposed to the separation of the two provinces, to federation, or the removal of the seat of government. He was in favour of holding the sessions alternately in Capetown and Grahamstown, and of annexing British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony. He wished to relieve the chief justice from the duty of presiding in the legislative council, and to permit that house to elect its own president, to increase the number of puisne judges to four, and to establish a court in the eastern districts to consist of two of these judges and to have a

solicitor general attached to it. He was also in favour of stationing an agent with the Basuto chief Moshesh.

The statement with regard to the annexation of British Kaffraria caused much dissatisfaction to the majority of the European residents in that province. They desired to remain a distinct colony, and declared their fear that war with the Xosas and Tembus would be the result of the loss of a local administration. They wished the vacant territory between the Kei and the Bashee to be given out to European farmers and to be added to the province, when the revenue would be sufficient, they believed, to maintain an effective government with a representative council.

Five days after the opening of parliament the governor left Capetown in the steam frigate *Cossack*, and proceeded to East London to make himself acquainted with the condition of affairs in British Kaffraria. After landing he went first to Butterworth, where he learned from the special magistrate Mr. W. B. Chalmers and the officers of the frontier mounted police the state of the vacant territory and the attitude of the Kaffir tribes beyond, after which he rode hastily to King-Williamstown, and on the 5th of May had a conference with the leading men of the province. He informed them that he had been obliged to stop all public works, as the revenue was insufficient to cover the expense, and that in his opinion annexation to the Cape Colony was the most expedient measure that could be adopted, for the imperial government would not continue to make good the deficiency. They urged their objections to annexation, expressed their hope that the imperial government would continue to protect them, and would not be convinced by the arguments that he used. He then assured them that annexation would not be forced upon them against their consent, and with this promise they withdrew satisfied.

The governor proceeded next to Grahamstown, but he was in such haste that his visit was a very short one, and on the 17th of May he embarked at Port Elizabeth in the *Cossack* to return to Capetown. In less than three weeks he made

the journey to Butterworth and back, and acquired, as he believed, a perfect knowledge of affairs on the eastern frontier.

Before the governor left England, the duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state for the colonies, had given him permission to allot the vacant land between the Kei and the Bashee to European settlers, if that could be done without stationing British troops in it for their protection, but any increase of military expenditure was carefully to be avoided. The governor now considered that this condition prevented him from giving out the land while British Kaffraria remained a separate province. It was guarded by the frontier armed and mounted police, who were paid by the Cape Colony, and who he believed would be withdrawn if the territory was annexed to British Kaffraria. It could not be incorporated in the Cape Colony, because British Kaffraria intervened. Perhaps this view was not altogether correct, because the protection of the province beyond the colonial frontier was equivalent to the protection of the colony itself, but the question whether the police would or would not be withdrawn in the event alluded to was never submitted to the Cape parliament, so what would have happened remains doubtful.

On the 30th of May a bill was introduced in the house of assembly by Mr. Rawson W. Rawson, the colonial secretary, which provided for the incorporation of British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, the increase of the number of members of the legislative council to nine for each province, who were to be elected for five years and were to choose their president, and the addition of ten members to the house of assembly, namely one for each of the western districts Namaqualand, Victoria West, Tulbagh, and Riversdale, and two for each of the districts of Queenstown, King-Williamstown, and the remainder of British Kaffraria. The members were informed that the consent of three parties to the annexation proposed was necessary, namely the imperial government, the Cape parliament, and the people of British Kaffraria. If the Cape

parliament would approve of the measure, the governor anticipated that there would be no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the other two. The bill was so favourable to the eastern province, on account of its giving to it equal representation with the west in both houses of the legislature, that the support of the whole of the eastern members could be relied upon, and if only two or three western members could be induced to vote for it, its passage through the house of assembly would be assured.

The subject therefore became the most important matter before parliament in the session of 1862. On the 26th of June the colonial secretary moved the second reading of the bill, when he based his arguments chiefly upon the disadvantage to the Cape Colony of having a little province on its border independent of its control. On the same line of reasoning any large state would be justified in absorbing a smaller one adjoining it. Mr. Rawson was of course obliged to support a government measure, but it was apparent to every one that he realised the weakness of his arguments, and his speech had no effect whatever upon those who listened to it.

The debate was continued until the 30th, each eastern member speaking in favour of the bill as beneficial to his side of the colony, but ignoring the views of the Kaffrarians, and each western opposing it as a revolutionary measure or as one designed to throw the whole burden of military defence against the Kaffirs upon the colony, by enabling the imperial government to withdraw the troops stationed on the frontier. On the 30th an amendment was moved that the bill be read that day six months, and being put to the vote was carried by nineteen to fourteen, the two provinces being ranged against each other. On the western side were Messrs. Brand, Fairbairn, Haupt, Kotzé, Manuel, Molteno, Munnik, Prince, Proctor, Silberbauer, Solomon, Tancred, Theunissen, Walter, F. Watermeyer, P. Watermeyer, Watson, White, and Ziervogel; and on the eastern side Messrs. Aspeling, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Cawood, Clough,

Franklin, Harries, Meyer, Mundy, Scanlen, Slater, Stanton, Stretch, and Upton.

The principal measure proposed by the governor having failed, on the 1st of July the colonial secretary brought before the house of assembly another of hardly less importance. This was the advisability of holding the sessions of parliament alternately in Capetown and in Grahamstown. It was easy for the western members to show that such a scheme would entail great expense, that the absence of the principal officials from their offices for several months would be detrimental to the public service, and that documents which would be constantly required by parliament when sitting in Grahamstown could not be obtained from Capetown without much inconvenience and loss of time. That equality for the east required the change was the substance of the arguments used by the speakers on the other side. On being put to the vote, the measure was lost by seventeen against thirteen for it.

On the 10th of July Mr. Harries brought a motion forward in the house of assembly in favour of the separation of the provinces, but it was defeated by seventeen votes against fifteen. On the 15th a similar motion brought forward by Mr. Tucker in the legislative council was lost by nine votes to six. At this time nearly the whole of the commerce of the republics north of the Orange river, as well as that of the eastern province itself, passed through Port Elizabeth, so that the customs duties received there were much greater than those collected in Capetown. The eastern members regarded these duties as part of the revenue of their province, and argued not only that they were capable of maintaining a government of their own, but that they did not receive in the form of public works nearly as much as they were entitled to.

On finding the measures that he had proposed rejected by parliament, the governor changed his ground. On the 17th of July he wrote to the duke of Newcastle advocating the separation of the two provinces, and the establishing in

each of an administration for local purposes, with a legislature consisting of a single chamber. Under this scheme he recommended the annexation of British Kaffraria to the eastern province. Over the two colonies to be formed he proposed to have a federal government, with a single legislative chamber, to have control over special matters in which uniformity was necessary. He objected to a system of parliamentary or what is usually termed responsible government, and desired that the heads of departments should continue to be appointed in England by the crown and be subject to instructions from the governor only.

To these proposals the secretary of state replied on the 5th of November. He was in favour of the annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony, but objected to the separation of the provinces and the extinction of the legislative council. He was of opinion that local councils under superintendents appointed by the crown might be advantageously introduced, or in other words that the existing divisional councils might be enlarged and have increased power conferred upon them. Upon the receipt of this dispatch the governor abandoned the advocacy of separation, and thereafter for a short time this subject occupied the minds of the colonists much less than it had previously done.

Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of August. During the session, bills, introduced by the governor, were passed for the construction of railways from Wellington to Worcester, from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown, and from a point on the Capetown-Wellington line to Malmesbury. The intention was that these lines should be built by companies, with a guarantee by government of interest at the rate of six per cent per annum on the cost, and a sub-guarantee to government by the districts traversed of half the amount to be made good, if any, as in the case of the Capetown and Wellington line.

But as no satisfactory offers were made, and it seemed unlikely that any companies would be formed in England to

undertake the work, the governor decided to do nothing in the matter until parliament should meet again. In 1863 parliament resolved that the governor should be requested to cause surveys to be made, but that nothing more should be done before the next session, and during many subsequent years the financial condition of the colony was such that neither the construction of railways nor any other large public works could be undertaken.

The work on the Capetown and Wellington line was progressing. On the 12th of February 1862 it was opened for use to Eerste River, 33·6 kilometres, on the 3rd of May to Stellenbosch, on the 18th of March 1863 to Paarl, and on the 4th of November 1863 it was completed to Wellington and opened for use, the total length being fifty-eight miles or 92·8 kilometres. The Salt River and Wynberg line, constructed by a local company, was commenced on the 14th of August 1862, and was opened for use on the 19th of December 1864. By it Capetown was connected with its southern suburbs, to a distance of eight miles or nearly thirteen kilometres; and by a horse tramway to Sea Point, also constructed by a local company, and opened for use on the 1st of May 1863, easy communication was had with the seaside suburbs in the opposite direction.

An event of the year 1862 that may be mentioned, though of little interest now, was the loss of the Union Company's coasting steamer *Waldensian*, one of the first of their fleet. She was on her passage from Port Elizabeth to Capetown, with a hundred and twenty-one passengers on board, among whom were several clergymen of the Dutch reformed church on their way to attend the synod, when at eleven o'clock in the night of the 13th of October she struck on a reef at Struys Point, and almost immediately broke up. There was barely time to lower the boats and get the passengers, the mail bags, and the crew to land, but nothing else was saved beyond the clothing — in some instances only the night dresses — that the unfortunate people had on or could hurriedly grasp.

The last scene in a long tragedy, the destruction of the aborigines of the Cape Colony, was at this time brought to a close. The land on each side of the usually dry gully called the Hartebeest river, being the least valuable in the country, had not been coveted by any of the immigrant peoples until the middle of the nineteenth century. Even the Koranas on the banks of the Orange had not wandered into it far from that stream, except occasionally after the fall of rain, when a herd of cattle might be driven a short distance southward for change of pasture. Its extent was some three hundred or three hundred and fifty kilometres from west to east, and from one hundred to two hundred kilometres from north to south, according to the curves of the Orange river. This land of prolonged droughts, where the thermometer often ranges sixty to seventy degrees of Fahrenheit's scale between midday and midnight, is as much entitled to be termed a desert as the Kalahari on the other side of the Orange. Yet after the fall of heavy rains, which may only occur at intervals of years, it presents the appearance of a vast meadow, so luxuriant is then the growth of the grass.

Here until about 1850 the Bushmen were left in undisturbed possession. Then a band of Xosas that had long before wandered away from the banks of the Kei, some strolling Koranas from the upper Orange, a party of freed slaves and other coloured people from the south, and even some Dutch colonists who had been accustomed to rove about with their cattle, finding the land everywhere else occupied or at least claimed, began to encroach on this dreary waste. Which of these intruders arrived first cannot be stated, nor does it make much difference, as all were found there in 1862. Reports having reached the government at Capetown that the aborigines were being mercilessly exterminated by these people, and the territory having been included in the colony since the 17th of December 1847, the governor directed Mr. Louis Anthing, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Namaqualand, to make a close inquiry into the

matter, and to take any steps that he might find necessary to restore order.

Mr. Anthing left Springbokfontein in February 1862, and after a detour north of the Orange reached the place now called Kenhart, on the Hartebeest river. There he commenced to make investigations and to take evidence, which he continued to do in other parts until he acquired complete information on the subject. His report to the governor is dated 21st of April 1863, and is just the repetition of a story as old as the intrusion of the first Hottentot and Bantu immigrants into South Africa. No one, black, yellow, or white, had regarded the Bushmen as having more right to the territory than the hyenas, they had all shot down what game there was, and when the wild animals, ostrich eggs, honey, and grass seed failed, the Bushmen were obliged either to steal or to starve. Many—the number could not be estimated—had perished of hunger. Others stole the cattle of the newcomers, and murdered people irrespective of sex or age whenever they could. Then they were treated by all as if they were tigers. During the preceding ten or twelve years many hundreds had been killed, though evidence could not be obtained as to the particular individuals who had been engaged in shooting them down. There were then about five hundred left.

An attempt was made to induce those savages to settle down peaceably as graziers, and they were provided by Mr. Anthing at the cost of government with a sufficient number of she-goats and other breeding stock to make a commencement with. But this plan succeeded no better than on former occasions when it had been tried by parties of farmers. The Bushmen showed themselves incapable of taking such a step forward as the adoption of pastoral habits, though several of their race in other districts had for many months at a time served European farmers faithfully as herdsmen. The stock provided for them was soon killed and eaten, and then the plunder of the intruders into their old hunting grounds was the only resource left to them. Some

time afterwards a number of families were sent to a distant part of the colony, where they were induced to take service, but they soon escaped and returned to their old haunts.

To the question: what could be done in such a case? a satisfactory answer cannot be given. No force that the colony could command would be sufficient to keep such an extent of wilderness clear of intruders and to maintain it as a Bushman reserve, even if such a course had been considered expedient. Cattle breeders and Bushmen cannot live together, unless under exceptional circumstances, and those circumstances are wanting when the cattle breeders are Koranas or Bantu. And so the end of the matter was, as in every instance of the kind that had previously occurred, those Bushmen who removed preserved their lives, and those who tried to remain passed out of sight. In this case they had only to cross the Orange river, when the Kalahari was before them, not more of a desert than the territory they were compelled to abandon.

On the 16th of April 1863 parliament was opened. The treasury was empty, and the colonists were ill disposed to bear any increased burdens. But to carry on the administration the governor had been compelled to borrow money, and nothing that could be avoided was being spent on public works, so that either retrenchment in the civil service, taxation in some form, or a loan was unavoidable. Various bills were introduced by the governor for the purpose of increasing the revenue, but some were rejected, and parliament would only consent to raise the transfer dues on fixed property exchanging ownership to four per cent upon the purchase price or the value, and to increase the charges for certain stamps and licenses. Further, to tide over the depression, the governor was authorised to raise a loan of £150,000 at six per cent yearly interest.

During this session Mr. J. C. Molteno endeavoured again to increase the importance and power of parliament by bringing forward a motion in the house of assembly in favour of the introduction of responsible government. The

time seemed opportune, for the last session had proved that under the existing system the administrative and the legislative powers were liable to clash in such a manner that effective government was nearly impossible. In 1860 he had made a similar effort, which was opposed successfully until the country should have an opportunity to express an opinion upon it, and at that time both the colonial secretary and the attorney general had declared themselves in favour of the change. The necessity for it seemed now more urgent than at that time. On the 28th of May therefore he moved a resolution "that in the opinion of this house the time has arrived when the introduction of the principle known as responsible or parliamentary government into the administration of this colony is both expedient and desirable."

On this occasion the debates were long and animated. The eastern members to a man were opposed to the principle, as they feared that under responsible government all real power would be centred in the west. The imperial government would then withdraw the troops, they maintained, and the coloured people, who had votes equally with themselves, would be the prey of agitators seeking place and regarding their party more than their country. Some of the western members were also opposed to it for these reasons, and on the 23rd of June, when a counteracting motion was brought forward by Mr. Harries, and the question came to the vote, Mr. Molteno and those who favoured his views found themselves in a minority of eleven against nineteen. Those who desired responsible government were Messrs. Brand, Fairbairn, Haupt, Molteno, Munnik, Silberbauer, Solomon, Theunissen, F. Watermeyer, P. Watermeyer, and Dr. White; and those who objected to it were Messrs. Blake, R. M. Bowker, T. H. Bowker, Van der Byl, Christie, Clough, Darnell, Franklin, Goldmann, Harries, Kotzé, Louw, Mundy, Prince, Proctor, Slater, Scott, Tancred, and Walter.

Encouraged by his success, on the 14th of July Mr. Harries moved: "that the governor be requested by

respectful address to take measures for summoning the next session of parliament to be held in the eastern province, in virtue of the power vested in him by the sixtieth section of the constitution ordinance." This was carried by fifteen votes to fourteen. On the 27th of July a similar motion was brought forward in the legislative council. There were five eastern members present, who, finding that the motion would be lost, left the chamber before the voting took place. The seven western members present then voted unanimously against it.

On the 28th of July parliament was prorogued, when the governor expressed his regret that his financial proposals had not been accepted in their entirety, and announced his intention to hold the session of the following year in Grahamstown.

In accordance with this intimation, in February 1864 he proceeded to the eastern province to superintend the necessary arrangements and carry out other duties, and did not return to Capetown until November. Some military buildings in Grahamstown that were left vacant by a redistribution of the troops were fitted up for the accommodation of parliament, and everything necessary for holding the session was made ready at the cost of only three or four thousand pounds. As the electric telegraph between Capetown and Grahamstown was opened for use on the 8th of January, it was possible for the governor to remain at such a distance from the heads of the departments, and to conduct the administration without much inconvenience.

A general election took place at this time, the term of the second parliament having expired, and it was found that the place of meeting for the next session was a factor of considerable importance in the choice of new members. Several of the old representatives declined to be put in nomination again, others were rejected, and when the polling was over no fewer than twenty-five new men were declared duly elected to seats in the house of assembly.

On the 28th of April parliament was opened. The governor in his speech stated that the revenue of the last year had fallen short of the expenditure by £191,613, and that further taxation would be necessary. He had suspended many public works early in the year, as there was no money to carry them on. He said much concerning depredations by the Xosas and measures required for their suppression. But of more interest than any other information that he gave was the announcement that he had lately received authority from her Majesty's government to create, on account of the colony of British Kaffraria, a defensive force of irregular cavalry, and he therefore trusted before many months were past to carry out the occupation as a part of British Kaffraria of the vacant country beyond the Kei. He hoped, he added, that by availing himself of the services of the new force he would be able gradually to relieve the detachments of the Cape police then stationed beyond the Kei, and to restore them to their duties within the colony.

All the taxing bills submitted by the governor were passed, as the eastern members were desirous of showing some substantial return for the favour conferred upon them. The customs duties were increased by twenty-five per cent, to take effect from the 29th of April, so that all articles subject to ad valorem rates thereafter paid ten per cent, stamps and licenses were increased, duties on succession to property were imposed, also a duty on bank notes, and the transfer duty act was amended to make it more stringent.

The effect upon the revenue of these taxation measures can be seen in the following table, which shows that the increased transfer duty caused a considerable diminution in the sale of fixed property. The great addition to the customs duties brought the revenue from that source to little more than it was in 1862, owing to the continued depression in trade. In stamps and licenses the increase was more marked. The returns for 1866 and 1867 contain the revenue of British Kaffraria also, which will account for a considerable portion of the increase.

Revenue of the Cape Colony.

	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
Customs duties	£274,539	£243,764	£299,503	£275,559	£285,056	£330,242
Transfer dues	57,168	55,723	53,198	47,321	44,851	46,111
Stamps and licenses ...	34,473	37,533	49,976	58,669	58,799	55,219
Land revenue	27,996	27,868	27,840	25,841	35,582	50,648
Postage	22,794	24,521	23,418	24,922	26,802	28,210
Auction dues	20,517	17,925	14,425	15,214	14,744	14,013
Fines and fees	15,378	17,900	16,273	16 414	17,402	15,342
Miscellaneous	318	2,264	326	325	372	140
Bank notes duty	—	—	—	1,365	3,938	3,916
Succession duty	—	—	—	1,040	1,102	3,153
	£453,183	£427,498	£484,959	£466,670	£488,648	£546,994
Other receipts.						
Land sales	13,266	3,834	9,565	19,233	19,714	20,080
Rents	7,927	9,330	9,648	1,697	539	275
Sale of government property	3,227	2,585	966	839	479	2,003
Reimbursements	6,370	6,177	4,269	18,749	18,405	21,232
Interest and premiums ...	17,340	15,329	6,214	7,554	3,814	14,885
Special	3,389	3,872	3,769	4,303	4,748	4,007
	£504,702	£468,625	£519,390	£519,045	£536,347	£609,476

A court for the eastern districts was created, to consist of two of the judges of the supreme court, who were to reside in Grahamstown and hold sessions there. For this purpose the number of puisne judges was increased to four. In case of the two judges disagreeing, the case was to be referred to the supreme court in Capetown, which consisted of the chief justice and the other two puisne judges. There was also liberty to appeal in civil cases from the eastern districts court to the supreme court. The new court was provided with a registrar, and a solicitor general was also to be appointed in connection with it. At the beginning of the following year, 1865, it was established, when Judge Connor was removed from Natal to Grahamstown, and Advocate Denyssen was appointed acting judge to fill the other seat.

In the house of assembly this session notice was given of an intention to propose a resolution in favour of the removal of the seat of government to Grahamstown, but it was deferred until the western members became apprehensive that it was being purposely delayed until they should leave to return home. A counter motion was then brought forward, and as the eastern members left the house before the voting took place, it was carried unanimously.

In the legislative council the same tactics were resorted to. Towards the close of the session, when most of the western members had left, a motion was brought forward in favour of the incorporation of British Kaffraria in the Cape Colony, and was carried by five eastern votes to two western, there being only seven members present. In the same chamber and by the same majority of five eastern against two western members a resolution was carried in favour of the next session being held in the eastern province.

On the 28th of July parliament was prorogued. The experiment of holding it in a town at a distance of four hundred and sixty-two miles or seven hundred and forty kilometres in a straight line from the principal offices containing records and all other conveniences usually considered indispensable was regarded by Sir Philip Wodehouse as

satisfactory, because he had been enabled by it to carry his measures, but no other governor ever resorted to such a plan, nor did he venture to repeat it.

In February 1864 the Union Company extended its ocean mail service to Port Elizabeth, which did away with the necessity of transhipping the mails and passengers for that port on the arrival of the steamers in Table Bay. Later in the year an arrangement was made with the same company to carry a mail monthly to Mauritius, in return for which a small subsidy was to be paid. Practically this gave the Cape Colony the advantage of two mails each month from England, one by the Atlantic and the other by the Mediterranean and Indian route. By the improvement and enlargement of the steamers the passage down the Atlantic to Table Bay was now often made in less than thirty days.

Another association in England, termed the Diamond Steamship Company, at this time commenced running steamers monthly to Port Elizabeth, East London, and Natal. Its first steamer, the *Eastern Province*, arrived in Algoa Bay from Falmouth on the 26th of May 1864, after a passage of thirty-two days and a few hours. This company was also subsidised for carrying the mails from Falmouth, at the rate of £50 for every day under twenty-seven on a passage and a proportion of the postage on letters and papers conveyed. This gave three mails monthly from England, but not at regular intervals, as the dates of departure of the ships of each line were arranged without reference to the other.

The *Eastern Province*, the first ship of the Diamond Company's fleet, had a short term of service. She was on the passage from Port Elizabeth to Falmouth when, a little before daylight on the 26th of June 1865 she ran ashore on the coast close to the mouth of Ratel River, and became a wreck. All on board got safely to land, but part of the cargo was lost.

This company soon ceased running steamers between England and South Africa, but for several years they kept

one or two vessels in the coasting trade between Table Bay and Natal, calling at all the intermediate ports.

The crops gathered in the early months of 1864 were better than those of the previous year, but agriculture was far from flourishing, and the commercial depression was increasing rather than diminishing. Emigration to New Zealand and to America was going on, but there were many artisans and labourers without the means of paying their passages to other countries and unable to obtain employment. Private benevolence was heavily taxed, and charitable institutions of various kinds were established to prevent actual starvation, but there was the danger of creating a class of paupers by such means. At length the distress became so great that the governor considered it necessary to inaugurate relief works, though without parliamentary sanction for incurring expense on this account. He selected the Tulbagh kloof to commence with. The railway when extended would have to pass either through this kloof or some other in the first range of mountains, and it was generally regarded as the best for the purpose, though to go through it would cause a long bend in the line like the letter U. In September 1864 the work of cutting a road fit for a railway from the Bushman's rock on the western side of the range, along the gorge through which the Little Berg river flows, into the Tulbagh basin was commenced, and soon several hundred white men and as many blacks were engaged on it. There were masses of rock to be cut through, retaining walls to be built, bridges to be constructed, and much other hard work to be done, so that it occupied the labourers thirteen months, and was the means of preventing a great deal of destitution.

On the 5th of October 1864 by the death of Mr. John Fairbairn the colony lost one of its ablest and most prominent men. The mistake he had made with regard to the Xosas in Sir Benjamin D'Urban's time had long been forgotten, for with experience he had seen cause to change his views, though he never ceased to support judicious

measures for the improvement of the coloured people within and beyond the border. His struggle with Lord Charles Somerset for the freedom of the press, his exertions on behalf of education, his resistance to the introduction of convicts and the losses he sustained in consequence of the leading part he took in that event, and his efforts to secure representative institutions for the colony have been recorded in these volumes. Of late years, owing to his advanced age, he was unable to take as active a part in public life as he had done when in full vigour, but to the last he was regarded as one of the most consistent and energetic advocates of responsible government. An estimable man in private life, a good colonist in every sense of the word passed away when he died.

An industry which has since attained large proportions and added considerably to the exports of South Africa had its origin about this time. From the earliest years of colonisation by the Dutch it was known that the ostrich could be tamed, and the female bird was often seen in a domesticated state, though it was only regarded as an odd pet, just as a tame springbok or baboon would be. The male bird was generally avoided, as it was dangerous in the breeding season, when it was apt to attack any person or animal approaching it, and inflict severe wounds by striking forward with its foot, which was armed with a formidable nail. The beautiful plumes obtained from the wings and tail of the ostrich had always been saleable at high prices, but hitherto had only been collected from wild birds. These had been shot down for the purpose, until they had become so scarce as to be nearly extinct in the long settled parts of the colony.

It seems never to have occurred to anyone that it would pay to keep tame ostriches for the sake of their feathers, until the long drought forced men to think about the matter. The favourite home of the bird was the desert, and it was known to thrive where nearly all other large animals would perish. It cannot be stated with certainty who first

made the attempt, but Mr. Von Maltitz, of Graaff Reinet, is generally credited with it. The plan adopted was to take the chicks when only a day or two old from a wild bird's nest, and rear them in enclosed paddocks, until some years later incubators were brought into use. In some parts, where the paddocks were large, no artificial food was needed, but in others it was required. The bird was almost omniverous, so under any circumstances it was easily kept. For many years the profits from this industry were greater than from any other branch of farming in South Africa, but in course of time the number of tame ostriches so increased that the price of plumes went down, and this occupation fell in the matter of returns to the level of other pastoral pursuits.

The imperial government at this time maintained five battalions of infantry, the Cape mounted rifles, some sappers and miners, and a few artillerymen in South Africa.

In March 1863 the second battalion of the 13th left for Mauritius, and in April the second battalion of the 5th arrived from that island to replace it.

In March 1863 the 96th regiment arrived to relieve the 85th, which left in May for England.

In November 1864 the first battalion of the 10th arrived to replace the second battalion of the regiment, which embarked in the same transports and proceeded to India.

In April 1865 the second battalion of the 11th left for China, and was replaced by the 67th, one wing of which arrived from China in April and the other from Mauritius in September.

In April 1865 one wing of the 99th arrived from China, and the remainder of the regiment arrived in September from Mauritius.

In October 1865 the first battalion of the 9th arrived from Europe to replace the 96th, which proceeded in that month and the following to Bombay.

In South Africa, in January 1866 there were the second battalion of the 5th, the first battalion of the 9th, the first

battalion of the 10th, the 67th, and the 99th regiments of the line.

In the session of parliament of 1864 provision was made for taking a census in the colony, which was carried into effect in March 1865. The population was found to consist of

Europeans	181,592
Hottentots	81,598
Bantu	100,536
Half-breeds, Asiatics, descendants of slaves, and other coloured people	132,655
Total number of souls	496,381

They were distributed as follows:

	Western Districts.	*Eastern Districts.*
Europeans	105,348	76,244
Coloured people	130,952	183,837

The municipality of Capetown, excluding the suburbs, contained 14,045 males and 14,412 females, 28,457 in all, of whom 15,118, or rather more than half, were of European blood.

Port Elizabeth came next in number of inhabitants. It contained 4,628 males and 4,072 females, 8,700 in all, of whom 6,886, or three-fourths of the whole, were Europeans.

Grahamstown followed, with 2,981 males and 2,968 females, 5,949 in all, of whom 5,265 were Europeans and only 684 were coloured servants.

The Paarl was the fourth municipality in size in the colony. It contained 2,434 males and 2,495 females, 4,929 in all, of whom only 1,978, or two-fifths of the whole, were Europeans.

The eastern districts were considerably in advance of the western in the number of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and goats owned by the inhabitants, as is shown by the following returns:

	Western Districts.	*Eastern Districts.*
Horses - - -	104,806	121,804
Mules and asses -	18,803	5,476
Horned cattle -	270,199	422,315
Woolled sheep -	2,243,393	6,126,786
Cape sheep - -	1,217,472	248,414
Goats - - -	1,044,508	1,392,936
Pigs - - - -	59,897	18,769

On the other hand, agriculture was much more extensively carried on in the west than in the east, with the single exception of the cultivation of maize, which was owing to the Bantu growing that grain extensively for their own consumption. The number of morgen of ground cultivated for each kind of produce was returned as follows:

	Western Districts.	*Eastern Districts.*
Wheat - - -	72,814	22,744
Barley and rye - -	22,305	5,523
Oats - - -	29,308	17,755
Maize - - -	1,895	21,788
Peas and beans - -	3,123	1,027
Tobacco - - -	763	171
Garden ground - -	3,648	2,421
Orchards - - -	3,335	1,427
Vines - - - -	7,149	494

Of the chief article of export, the western districts produced during the preceding year 5,017,196 pounds avoirdupois, or 2,275,749 kilogrammes, of wool, and the eastern districts 13,887,840 pounds, or 6,299,385 kilogrammes.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ABANDONMENT OF THE TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES.

THE hopes that were raised throughout South Africa, and particularly in British Kaffraria, by the governor's speech at the opening of parliament in 1864, that the vacant ground beyond the Kei would at last be allotted to European settlers, and the influence and power of the civilised race in the country be thus increased, were doomed to be disappointed. An opportunity such as can never occur again of pushing forward the border of the white immigrants, without doing the slightest harm to the black immigrants, was unfortunately thrown away. Vacant land such as that east of the Kei, adapted for agricultural and pastoral purposes, is in South Africa like a depression surrounded with pools of water: it must be filled with something or it will be overflowed. It is surprising that the Cape police had been able to keep it open as long as they did.

The tract of land along the base of the Kathlamba mountains had never been occupied except by Bushmen, and that between the Indwe and the Kei on one side and the Bashee on the other had been forfeited by the paramount Xosa chief Kreli in 1858, after his insane attempt to make war upon the Cape Colony by throwing his whole tribe in a famishing condition upon it. In February of that year he and his adherents were driven over the Bashee into Bomvanaland, and the territory was then occupied and constantly patrolled by the Cape frontier armed and mounted police. Only two small Bantu settlements were permitted within it. One of these was the Butterworth mission station, where some Fingos were allowed to live, and the

other was at Idutywa (pron. Ai-dootsh-wăh) near the centre of the former Galeka country, where some people from British Kaffraria had been located by Colonel Gawler in August 1858.

An officer was stationed there with the title of Transkeian special magistrate, who exercised jurisdiction over the people and kept the government informed of what was going on. Colonel Gawler held this appointment until September 1858, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant George Pomeroy Colley. Mr. W. G. B. Shepstone succeeded Lieutenant Colley in May 1860, and Mr. William B. Chalmers succeeded Mr. Shepstone in September 1861. Mr. Chalmers held the appointment from that date until the close of 1864. During these seven years the Idutywa district was regarded as a dependency of the crown colony of British Kaffraria, and the special magistrates were appointed by the government of that province. The Bantu who resided at Idutywa were offshoots of various clans. About half of them were Fingos, there were some Ndlambes under the petty chief Smith Umhala, who was a great-grandson of Rarabe, and even some Galekas.

Early in 1864 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited the Tambookie location west of the Indwe. This was the ground that Sir George Cathcart had allotted to the Emigrant Tembus in 1853, the same that is now known as the district of Glen Grey. It appeared to the governor that it would be advantageous to obtain this ground for Europeans if the Tembus would exchange it for a larger tract beyond the Indwe. He spoke to the chiefs about it in general terms, and as they seemed inclined to regard it favourably, he instructed Mr. J. C. Warner, the government agent in the location, to discuss the matter carefully with them and communicate the result.

On the 8th of April Mr. Warner reported that he had held meetings with the chiefs and leading men, and that they had unanimously consented to remove on condition that the boundaries of the land to be received in exchange should be

"from the source of the Indwe in the Washbank range of mountains down the eastern bank of that river to its junction with the Kei, thence down the latter river to its junction with the Tsomo, thence up the western bank of the Tsomo to the waggon road at the police station, thence along the said waggon road to the Umgwali drift below Clarkebury; the northern boundary to be the Washbank and Kathlamba mountains. That this country should be secured to them, and only be forfeited in case of their making war on the colony. That their independence should be guaranteed to them as far as consistent with humanity and the paramount authority of the queen. That their stipends should be continued to them, that they should enjoy all the privileges they then possessed, and that the Tambookie agent at the time should be appointed British resident with them."

The chiefs thus asked for a country so many times the size of the location which they were to give in exchange that the governor was not disposed to accept their terms. On the 10th of April he replied to Mr. Warner, offering "all the territory from the source of the Tsomo in the Stormberg down its left bank till nearly opposite the police station, and thence east by the waggon road to the Bashee." Under this proposal the district between the Indwe and the Tsomo would have been left for European occupation, and the exchange of territory would not have been very detrimental to the colony. The chiefs, however, rejected it, and the negotiations then ceased for several months.

A long and unaccountable delay occurred before the governor made known the conditions under which grants of land in the Transkeian territory would be made, and when at last, on the 1st of June, the requisite notice appeared, the terms were so burdensome that most people believed they were designed purposely to prevent European colonisation. In that notice farms from one thousand to three thousand English acres in extent were offered to approved applicants, on condition of maintaining one white man for every five

hundred acres and the payment of yearly quitrent at the rate of £1 for every hundred acres. The territory was to be annexed to British Kaffraria, and was to be defended by a body of irregular horse paid by the imperial government for five years, after which the expense was to be gradually reduced.

In the best part of South Africa, with a good market close at hand, farming might pay on such terms, but on a distant frontier, where for many years, until towns sprang up, only cattle breeding could be carried on, Sir Philip Wodehouse's conditions were prohibitive. He was soon convinced of this himself, for in August he modified them by reducing the quitrent to fifteen shillings for every hundred acres, and requiring only two adult males in addition to the grantee himself on every farm of three thousand acres, one of whom was to be a European and the other a man approved by the governor. The Europeans were of course to be mounted and armed at their own expense, and to muster regularly for inspection as in British Kaffraria. Under these conditions it was ascertained that there would be no difficulty in filling up the vacant territory, but they were made too late.

For some time past Kreli had gradually been recovering importance. His followers were returning to him from the various districts in which they had been scattered by the terrible famine that followed the destruction of their cattle and grain in 1856, and Bomvanaland was too small to contain them. In February 1861 Sir Walter Currie on behalf of the high commissioner offered him a large tract of land beyond the Umtata, and he expressed himself willing to occupy it, but afterwards declined acceptance on the ground that his removal to it would inevitably lead to war with the Pondos. His real reason was that he hoped then to recover his former territory, and no Bantu chief of the coast will ever move eastward or northward if he can avoid it. He does not say so in words, but he feels, as if instinctively, the pressure of his race towards the setting sun.

In May and June 1864 a panic was created on the frontier, owing to a report that Kreli had resolved to attack the police and attempt to recover the land he had lost. Sir Walter Currie, then commandant of the police, believed the report to be well founded, and gave it as his opinion that European settlers should not move beyond the Kei until the chief and his people were driven over the Umtata to the land offered to them there. Mr. Chalmers, the special magistrate at Idutywa, did not credit the rumour, and thought there was no cause for apprehending a disturbance of the peace, but Sir Walter Currie's opinion had greater weight than his with the governor, and all the troops available were put in readiness to meet an attack. On the 11th of June Sir Philip Wodehouse reported his apprehensions to the secretary of state, and at the same time Sir Percy Douglas, who in November 1863 had succeeded Lieutenant-General Wynyard as commander in chief of the forces in South Africa, wrote that he believed the occupation of the Transkeian territory by Europeans would cause increased military expenditure by Great Britain.

Without further investigation, or ascertaining whether the rumour concerning Kreli's intentions had any foundation in fact, Mr. Cardwell, then secretary of state for the colonies, resolved to abandon the vacant territory. On the 5th of August 1864 he informed the governor that her Majesty's ministers were averse to incurring the risk of additional charges, and that therefore "British dominion must be withdrawn from it, and the Kei be made the extreme boundary." The irregular horse that it had been intended to raise would on this account be unnecessary, and need not be enrolled. This retrograde movement was believed by the vast majority of the European colonists to be more disastrous, and to be a more severe blow to the prosperity of South Africa, than even the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty ten years previously.

But Sir Philip Wodehouse did not wait for these instructions. They were not even written when at the beginning

of August he sent Sir Walter Currie to inform Kreli that the government would take him into favour again, give him back part of the territory he had formerly occupied, and grant him an allowance in money of £100 a year as long as he should conduct himself in a friendly manner. Mr. Warner, the Tambookie agent, was directed to make the necessary arrangements, and no time was lost in carrying them out. Kreli of course accepted the offer with many expressions of thanks, and in the months of September and October his people moved over the Bashee into the country thereafter termed Galekaland. This district was the seaboard portion of that which the Galekas occupied before 1857. It extended from the Bashee to the Kei, and from the ocean to a well defined boundary formed partly by flowing water and partly by the great waggon road which runs eastward past Butterworth. At present it forms the districts of Kentani and Willowvale. On the 5th of October Mr. Cardwell wrote to Sir Philip Wodehouse, approving of what he had done in the matter.

It was in very truth necessary that the paramount Xosa chief should have ground allotted to him somewhere, for there was not sufficient space in the Bomvana district for his people to live in, as well as the proper owners, the clan then under the aged and pacific chief Moni. Justice and prudence, to say nothing of generosity, required this, for a half starved and cramped up mass of barbarians is always a menace to its neighbours. But there was plenty of vacant ground beyond the Umtata, and Sir Walter Currie's plan of forcing Kreli and the Galekas to remove to it would have met the difficulty and saved a fine slip of land for occupation by Europeans. That much was now irrecoverably lost.

In September 1864, when it was announced to the colonists that no farms were to be given out beyond the Kei, it was anticipated that different Bantu clans living west of that river could be induced to move over, and leave the ground they were then occupying for the use of white people. Sir Philip Wodehouse therefore renewed his negotia-

tions with the chiefs in the Tambookie location, and offered them now the whole tract of country between the Indwe river and that occupied by the remainder of their tribe who were living in independence under the young chief Gangelizwé. He had a double object in this: the acquisition of the Glen Grey location and the strengthening of the Tembu tribe as a counterpoise to the power of Kreli by bringing the different sections together again. The ground he offered was not only very much larger than that from which he wished them to remove, but was also more fertile and better adapted for their needs.

A lengthy correspondence ensued with Mr. Warner, who conducted the negotiations with the Tembus, and who was at first tolerably confident of being able to carry out the governor's views. Raxoti, Darala, and Gecelo, the three most powerful chiefs in the location, consented to the proposed exchange. For some months Sir Philip Wodehouse and Mr. Richard Southey, who in July 1864 had succeeded Mr. Rawson as colonial secretary, seemed to hope for, if not to anticipate success, their chief fear being that Nonesi would probably evade carrying out the plan in its entirety, by remaining behind herself with a few adherents. There was a strong feeling of jealousy between the old chieftainess and Raxoti, or, as afterwards called, Matanzima, and it seemed likely that if one went the other would not. In this case, in February 1865 the government proposed to assign land in the old location sufficient for their needs to Nonesi and such of her followers as should stay with her.

In the meantime a delay was caused by the request of the chiefs to be allowed time to gather their crops which were then growing. This was conceded as reasonable, but after the harvest there was no general movement. Sections of the people crossed the Indwe, though taking care always that a sufficient number remained behind to prevent the occupation by any one else of the ground they were leaving. The governor was powerless in the matter, as since British dominion had been withdrawn from the vacant territory,

what he was offering in exchange was not really his to dispose of. The Tembus knew this as well as he did, and so force could not be used either to prevent a partial migration, or to drive the whole of them over the river. In June 1865 Mr. Warner announced that the scheme had completely broken down, and the governor could only regret that the announcement was true and remonstrate with the chiefs who remained in the old location.

Mr. C. D. Griffith, then civil commissioner of Queenstown, was directed to communicate to them that they would no longer be recognised as having any authority, that the ordinary colonial laws would be substituted for the Bantu law under which the people had previously been governed, and that the office of Tambookie agent was abolished. He proceeded to the location, and on the 22nd of November 1865 had a meeting with Nonesi, some petty chiefs, and about fifteen hundred men. Mr. Griffith delivered his message, and in the usual way was thanked for what he had communicated. Nonesi replied that she was a child of the government, that she had been invited after the last war by the government itself to live in the location, and could not understand why it was now desired she should remove.

The daughter of Faku and widow of Vusani preferred to remain where she was the person of most consequence, rather than be of little account in presence of Gangelizwe and Matanzima, the sons of Umtirara, who was her child by adoption only. The people were pleased to obtain more land beyond the Indwe, and did not wish to relinquish any on the colonial side. As for English law superseding theirs, the magistrate might talk as much as he chose, but they would keep the customs of their fathers. There are no people on the face of the earth who can offer passive resistance more effectually than the Bantu, and so the Tembus kept the location and their old customs and laws as well, while those who moved from it obtained possession of the whole of the upper portion of Kreli's former country, now the districts of Xalanga and St. Mark's.

As for Nonesi, she made herself a nuisance to the colonial authorities, though always calling herself a child of the government. At length her conduct became so bad that it was necessary to remove her. In December 1868 she was put in a waggon, and sent with a police escort to Pondoland, where she was handed over to her brother Ndamasi. But her removal was not followed by the migration of the people, though it made the enforcement of order among them less difficult than before.

There remained a tract about twelve hundred square miles, or three thousand square kilometres, in extent in the centre of the territory. Sir Philip Wodehouse hoped that in exchange for this he might obtain the locations west of the Kei belonging to the Gaika chiefs Sandilé, Anta, and Oba, that is the present district of Cathcart. By his instructions Mr. Charles Brownlee, the Gaika commissioner, held a meeting with those chiefs and their people on the 16th of March 1865 to discuss the matter. Mr. Brownlee offered the chiefs perfect independence over the Kei, instead of the restraint to which they were subject on the colonial side of the river. They would retain their monthly allowances in money also, so that they would lose nothing at all, and obtain a big country in exchange for a small one. But the chiefs and their people alike turned a deaf ear to all his proposals. Their principal reason for doing so was an objection to move into a district which the head of their tribe still hoped to acquire, and thus deprive him of it; but this was not allowed to appear, and the governor was led to believe that they objected to cross the Kei because "they acknowledged the benefits they had received from living in tranquillity under British rule, and were indisposed to fall back under the uncontrolled authority of their own chiefs."

All hope of obtaining ground for European settlement by means of the removal of Bantu occupiers was now of necessity abandoned, and the governor turned next to the Fingos, from whom nothing was anticipated in exchange.

These people were first introduced to the colony in 1835, when some sixteen thousand of them were brought across the Kei by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and were located in the Peddie district. Afterwards others had been brought over, or had migrated to the colony in families or small parties. They had multiplied in an almost incredible manner, there being no parallel in history of any people increasing so rapidly in number as these Fingos have done since they came into the colony. Their locations in Peddie soon became overcrowded, and swarms from them were then settled in Victoria East, in the beautiful valleys along the Amatola range, in the Queenstown district, and even in the Zitzikama. The same thing went on at each fresh location, so that shortly there was a multitude of Fingos in the border districts, pressing upon the remaining population and clamouring for land.

Sir Philip Wodehouse offered the vacant country to these people, and before the close of the year 1865 nearly forty thousand of them moved into it, without, however, giving up a square metre of land in the colony. Some of them raised an objection at first to their settlement without protection in a district bordering on that occupied by the Galekas, but they were satisfied with a promise that if they conducted themselves properly their enemies would not be permitted to destroy them. Captain Cobbe, previously superintendent of the Healdtown location, was stationed with them, with the title of Fingo agent. The territory thus allotted to the Fingos comprised the present districts of Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Butterworth.

All the land between the Kei and the Bashee was thus parcelled out among rival Bantu clans, most of whose members had previously been British subjects. The government of the Cape Colony hoped to be able by its influence alone to preserve order among them and prevent an outbreak of war, but such influence had often failed before, and it might do so again. "In thus disposing of this territory," wrote Sir Philip Wodehouse to the secretary of state, "we

entirely relinquish all rights of sovereignty over it, and these tribes will be governed by their own chiefs and their own customs. But in accordance with their own wishes, and for their benefit as well as for our own, each tribe will be guided and aided by a British resident."

This quotation shows the nature of the relationship between the Cape Colony and the Transkeian country for several years. There was a British resident in the person of Mr. J. C. Warner, who was stationed at Idutywa, and who corresponded with the government and acted generally as a diplomatic agent. The only legal authority he possessed was derived from a commission under the imperial act 26 and 27 Victoria, which empowered him to cause the arrest of criminals being British subjects anywhere between the Kei and the border of Natal, and send them to the Cape Colony for trial, but this did not apply to the Bantu residents. Subordinate to him were his son Mr. E. J. Warner, who had the title of Tembu agent and who resided at Southeyville, Captain Cobbe, who was termed Fingo agent, and Mr. William Fynn, son of the former diplomatic agent with the Galekas, who had been for several years clerk to the special magistrate at Idutywa, and was appointed resident with Kreli in July 1865. This arrangement lasted until October 1869, when the office of British resident was abolished, and the various agents, who had previously reported to Mr. Warner, senior, were placed in direct correspondence with the government in Capetown.

The territory into which the emigrant Tembus moved was divided into four great blocks, over each of which there was a recognised chief. One of these was Matanzima, a brother of Gangelizwe, another was Dárala, a descendant of Tembu, but a very distant relative of the paramount chief; the third and fourth were Gecelo, son of Tshopo, and Stokwé, son of Undlela, neither of whom was a Tembu by descent. These and several others who were subordinate to them received small yearly allowances from the Cape government according to their rank, Matanzima, the most important of them, being

paid £52 a year after September 1867, when his grant was increased and he was entitled a chief of the first class. They were treated as independent rulers, however. Their people paid no taxes to the colonial treasury, but a few European traders and woodcutters who went into the country paid for licenses to them. They governed their people and collected the isizi * and other dues from their subjects in the usual Bantu way.

The Tembu agent was instructed to use his influence in controlling the relationship between the chiefs so as to preserve peace, but he had no other power than to recommend the stoppage of the annual allowances. There were intrigues and jealousies among them, and on one occasion, in 1868, the feud between the old chieftainess Nonesi and Matanzima nearly involved the country in war, but actual hostilities were averted by the prudent management of the agent. The Cape authorities in every instance, when applied to, declined to interfere. Early in 1872, however, the colonial government so far departed from its previous policy as to send a commission to inquire into the disputes as to boundaries and to arbitrate between the contending chiefs. Certain lines were thereupon laid down, and were afterwards respected by all parties.

The main body of the tribe to which these people professed to belong resided between the Bashee and the Umtata, and there was now no break between its farthest eastern outposts and the westernmost kraal in the location at Glen Grey. Apparently it was thus very powerful, but in reality a slight shock would have broken it into fragments. In 1863, Qeya, great son of Umtirara, was circumcised, when he took the name of Gangelizwe, and assumed the government of the Tembu tribe. On this occasion the colonial authorities, as a mark of friendship, presented him with the sum of £50,

* *Isizi* means the fines paid to a chief for murder, assault, and other offences considered criminal, as distinguished from civil, in Bantu law. With some tribes, as for instance the Pondos, it also means an ox paid to the chief when the death of a man is reported by his relatives, to console him for the loss of a subject.

and promised him an allowance of £52 a year. There had long been an ill-feeling between the Tembus and the Xosas, and this was now increased by personal jealousy between Gangelizwe and Sigcawu, great son of Kreli, who had also just come of age. Between the Tembus and the Pondos on the other side there was likewise a feud of long standing, which now and again occasioned war. Under these circumstances, the influence of the late regent Joyi and the old counsellors of Umtirara was in favour of keeping on good terms with the colonial government.

The Tembu tribe, as has been stated before, was not a compact body, inasmuch as many of its clans were of alien blood. The most powerful of Gangelizwe's vassals, indeed,—Dalasilé, head of the Amakwati clans,—was not a Tembu by descent, and was not inclined to admit much more than the precedence of the paramount ruler. He could bring almost as many followers into the field as Gangelizwe could from the kraals under his immediate government.

To strengthen himself therefore, the young chief encouraged other alien clans to settle in his country. He specially favoured a large Fingo clan under the chief Menziwé, who had taken refuge in Tembuland in the time of Umtirara, and he even induced a number of European farmers from the Cape Colony to settle along the western bank of the Umtata so as to form a barrier between him and the Pondos. A similar little European community was also formed at the Slang river on another border of his territory. Each of these farmers paid him rent at the rate of £6 a year, and as some eighty families settled in his country on the terms which he offered, he derived a good income as well as some protection from them. They were of course in every respect self-governing, or rather they lived without a government at all, as they were not subject to Bantu law, and would not brook interference by a Bantu chief. The arrangement was that in return for the use of a farm or cattle run and protection from theft by his people, each man was to pay the paramount Tembu chief £6 a year.

Their lives were always respected, but their property was held on a precarious tenure, and they were frequently subjected to annoyances for which they could obtain no redress. It was a strange and unnatural position for white men to be in.

Gangelizwe was usually an easy-going, mild-mannered man, but he was subject to fits of ungovernable temper, when he was prone to commit the most savage acts. In May 1866 he took as his great wife a daughter of the Xosa chief Kreli. The marriage was brought about by his counsellors for political purposes, and affection had nothing to do with it. The treatment of this woman by her husband when he was enraged was so brutal that in 1870 she fled from him, and returned to her father maimed and covered with wounds. Fearing Kreli's vengeance, as soon as his wife left him the Tembu chief, through Mr. E. J. Warner, applied to the high commissioner for an officer to reside with him, and a few months later repeated the request. Thereupon, in February 1871 Mr. E. B. Chalmers was appointed resident with Gangelizwe, to advise him and to be the medium of communication between him and the colonial government.

Acting by the advice of Mr. Fynn, Kreli had submitted to the governor a complaint of the treatment of his daughter by Gangelizwe, and Messrs. Fynn and Chalmers were instructed to investigate the matter and report upon it. They did so, and in March 1871 the governor pronounced judgment, that Gangelizwe should pay to Kreli forty head of cattle. Kreli accepted the cattle awarded to him, though he considered the punishment altogether too slight. His people, incensed at the outrages inflicted on their chief's daughter, which they regarded as insults to themselves, and smarting under the occupation by the emigrant Tembus of a tract of land that had once been theirs, were intent upon revenge. Plundering commenced, followed by retaliation, and presently the two tribes were at war.

On the 30th of September 1872 Kreli and his son Sigcawu crossed the Bashee at the head of a large army, and invaded

Tembuland. As the Galekas advanced the Tembus fell back until the 6th of October, when a battle was fought in which the Tembus were totally defeated. Gangelizwe with his bodyguard fled to the Wesleyan mission station Clarkebury, where the reverend Mr. Hargreaves was then residing. This gentleman was possessed of rare courage as well as of great influence over the people around him. He met Kreli, whose followers were elated with victory and half mad with excitement, and induced him to abstain from further pursuit.

Gangelizwe now offered to Mr. Chalmers to cede the whole of his country unconditionally to the British government. The resident asked that the offer should be made at a public meeting, and one was called for the purpose. On the 21st of October a number of the sub-chiefs came together, and expressed a strong feeling in favour of the cession. Dalasilé, however, and several others were not present.

A commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Edmonstone, of the 32nd regiment, Mr. E. A. Judge, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Queenstown, and Inspector J. Murray Grant, of the frontier armed and mounted police, was sent to the scene of disturbances, and succeeded in inducing Kreli to suspend hostilities. When this was settled, the commission was informed by Gangelizwe, at a meeting which took place on the 30th of November 1872, that his offer of his country and his people to the British government had been made without sufficient consideration and without the consent of some of his principal subordinate chiefs, and that as there was considerable opposition to its being carried out he wished to withdraw it. As afterwards ascertained, it was Dalasilé who overruled the proposal of Gangelizwe to follow the example of Moshesh by placing himself under British protection.

Mr. Charles Brownlee then visited the territory occupied by the Galekas and the Tembus. On the 20th of January 1873 he met Kreli, who had six thousand warriors with him, and persuaded him to send four delegates to Idutywa to meet Gangelizwe's representatives. The Tembu chief gladly sent

the same number of delegates, and Mr. Brownlee was able to induce them to make a formal declaration of peace, so that quietness was restored once more along the colonial border.

The Fingos in their new settlement were not long in discovering that Captain Cobbe, who was stationed with them, was without any authority and could only give advice. The governor informed the resident that "it was essential to the successful working of the Transkeian settlement that the British officers employed there should be perfectly aware that they possessed no authority in the legal sense of the word derived from the British government, inasmuch as her Majesty's government had deliberately determined to relinquish the possession of that country. The authority of the British officers must therefore strictly speaking be derived altogether from the chiefs and people with whom they dwelt, and by whom any directions or advice they might give must be carried into effect. But although it was right that these officers should themselves correctly appreciate their position, it by no means followed that they should bring this circumstance prominently into notice, and thus lower their own influence in dealing with the people. Each of the tribes settled in the Transkei looked with more or less jealousy on the others, and each desired to retain the good-will of the British government. The leading men set a value on the allowances they received. The individuals composing each tribe had become alive to the benefits of an impartial administration, and had probably little desire to come under the uncontrolled power of their chiefs. All these influences would operate to sustain the authority of the British resident, and to enable him to procure the execution of orders given with discretion and with a due regard for the habits and prejudices of the people."

This system gave very little satisfaction. The Fingos, who during their residence in the Cape Colony had made great strides towards civilisation, were now rapidly falling back into the habits of their ancestors. In the wars of Tshaka they had lost most of their chiefs, so that it was much less difficult for

them than for other Bantu to adopt European ideas. They were of various clans, and had no bond of union except the government of the white man, while they were surrounded by enemies always ready to pounce upon and destroy them. Their best men admitted their inability to form a government of their own, and were desirous of some better system than one in which the only means of coercion was the stoppage of a paltry allowance to the head of a kraal or letting loose the people of one village to plunder those of another.

Captain Cobbe was withdrawn in May 1869, and after a short interval during which Mr. Charles J. Levey was in charge of the office, Captain Matthew Blyth was appointed Fingo agent. This officer, who was possessed of great ability as an administrator, soon became a real chief over the people, and arrested the downward movement among them. They submitted willingly to the authority which he assumed, and never thought of questioning his decisions. Under his firm, but benevolent, administration, the Fingos entered upon a career of great prosperity, and peace was undisturbed in their territory.

When the office of British resident was abolished, Mr. Thomas A. Cumming was stationed at Idutywa with the title of superintendent. The people of that district were refugees of various tribes, without any chief of high rank among them. Those who did not submit to be ruled by the superintendent were therefore in a state of anarchy for several years.

In addition to the territory that was taken from the Xosas in 1858 and allotted to the Galekas in 1864 and to the emigrant Tembus and Fingos in 1865, a large extent of unoccupied land along the base of the Drakensberg or Kathlamba mountains was abandoned by the British government in 1864. It was part of the territory now termed Griqualand East, which is about seven thousand square miles or eighteen thousand square kilometres in extent, its boundaries being the Kathlamba range on the north-west, Tembuland on the south-west, the dividing line being the

head waters of the Umtata river and the watershed between the streams which flow into the Bashee and the Umzimvubu, Pondoland and the county of Alfred in Natal on the south-east, and the colony of Natal on the north-east. No part of the territory is nearer the sea than thirty miles or forty-eight kilometres in a straight line.

The soil of Griqualand East is in general fertile and covered with a rich carpeting of grass. Horses and horned cattle thrive as well as in the most favoured parts of South Africa, and the pasturage along the slopes of the Drakensberg is particularly well adapted for sheep. Wheat grows in perfection, as does nearly every fruit, grain, and vegetable of the warmer part of the temperate zone. The lowest part of the territory, or the side nearest the sea, has an elevation of not less than nine hundred metres above the ocean, and from this depression there is a constant upward incline until the great mountain wall is reached. The most elevated portions of Griqualand East are therefore so cold in winter that no Bantu ever cared to occupy them. Europeans find the climate as pleasant and healthy as any in the world, though, owing probably to the air being damper, chest diseases are more common than on the great plains of the interior. In the summer months, when the prevailing winds are from the ocean and when thunderstorms gather along the mountains, the rainfall is usually considerable; but there are occasional seasons of drought, never, however, equalling in duration those sometimes experienced in districts to the westward.

British ownership of the territory was based nominally on a cession made by the Pondo chief Faku, in reality it rested on the right of a civilised power to enforce order. Faku never had any authority in it, he never would have had a claim to a square metre of its soil if such a claim had not been given to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland in the treaty of 1844. At that time hardly anything was known by the colonial government of the political condition of the Bantu in the valley of the Umzimvubu. Along the lower

course of the river the Pondo tribe was found by travellers and missionaries, and it was assumed that the whole region was under the jurisdiction of Faku, the paramount Pondo chief.

Faku was not slow in perceiving the advantages to be derived from an alliance with the Cape Colony. Tshaka and Dingan were dead, and the terrible Zulu power had been shattered, but he had many enemies still. A powerful friend at a safe distance was most desirable. He therefore accepted without hesitation the proposals made to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland's agents, and affixed his mark to a treaty, in the twelfth clause of which he was acknowledged as paramount chief of the whole region between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, from the Drakensberg to the sea. In the thirteenth clause the colonial government undertook to secure this territory to him against British subjects, but the rights of all petty chiefs and Bantu tribes residing in any part of it were to remain unaltered. As now known, the population of the country between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu at that time consisted of

(*a*) The Pondo tribe, occupying the banks of the Umzimvubu for sixty or seventy kilometres upwards from the sea. These Pondos had lived there as long as their traditions of general events went back, which may have been a couple of hundred years, and though Zulu armies had swept off their stock and reduced them to great destitution, they had managed to preserve their lives by retiring into mountain recesses and thickly-wooded ravines till the waves of invasion rolled over. In 1844 Faku was paramount chief of the tribe, but practically governed only the eastern clans, as Ndamasi, his eldest son of the right hand house, ruled the clans on the western side of the river. Umqikela, the eldest son of the great house and consequently the heir to the paramount chieftainship, was still a youth.

(*b*) The Pondomsi tribe, living eastward of the Umtata, farther inland than the Pondos. This tribe had been

independent as far back as its traditions went, and for many years had occupied the same position as it did in 1844. It was divided into two rival sections, well known in later times as those of the chiefs Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa.

(*c*) The Bacas under the chief Ncapayi, who was then acting as regent during the minority of his brother. These people were the remnants of a northern tribe which had suffered greatly in the wars of Tshaka, and when driven from their own country had fled to the district they were occupying in 1844. They had of course no hereditary right to the ground there, but their claim to it was as good as could be set up by anyone else.

(*d*) The Xesibes, the remnant of a tribe that more than a century earlier had migrated from the northern part of the present colony of Natal and settled in a district near that in which they were then living east of the Umzimvubu. Tshaka drove them beyond the Umtata, but after his death they returned. The whole country had been in commotion, and there was hardly a clan in it that had not been displaced. The Xesibes, on recrossing the Umzimvubu, lived for a time a nomadic life, but at length took possession of a tract of land to which the Amanci clan of the Pondos had a claim, and thus a feud was originated between them.

(*e*) A great number of little groups of refugees with different titles, an enumeration of which would only cause confusion. The Pondos, owing largely to the prestige gained by their alliance with the Cape Colony, have managed since that time to incorporate most of these clans. They were principally offshoots of the great tribe of the Abambo, that once occupied the northern part of Natal.

(*f*) Various refugee clans occupying the tract of land between the Umtamvuna and Umzimkulu rivers. The district in which these people lived was annexed to the colony of Natal in 1864.

(*g*) A number of Bushmen roaming over the otherwise uninhabited territory along the base of the Drakensberg or Kathlamba.

Among these various tribes and clans war was perpetually carried on. Somebody was always fancying the cattle or the cornfields of somebody else, or keeping alive ancient feuds by burning kraals and slaughtering opponents. Combinations among the various sections of the community were continually changing, so that it is not only wearisome to follow them through their quarrels, but it can serve no good purpose to do so. The Pondos were far the most numerous of any one party, but they could not reduce the Pondomsis, the Bacas, or the Xesibes to subjection. As for Faku, he gained the reputation, which he kept to the day of his death, of being a faithful ally of the British government, which being interpreted means that he was always ready to fall upon the Xosas and Tembus when the Cape Colony was at war with them, and stock his kraals with oxen and cows at their expense.

In one respect the Maitland treaty pressed heavily upon the Pondo chief. The Natal government maintained that as he was the paramount ruler of all the people living in the country along their south-western border, he was bound to prevent stock-lifting by his subjects, and when the Bushmen of the uplands committed depredations he was held responsible and compelled to make good the loss. In 1850 his nominal dignity cost him in this way a thousand head of cattle, the whole spoil of a raid upon his neighbours' kraals. Naturally this irritated him, and while smarting under the loss of his oxen he sent word to Maritzburg that he had not asked for the upper country, Sir Peregrine Maitland had forced it upon him, and rather than be held accountable for the misdeeds of its inhabitants he would prefer to see the Natal government taking possession and directly ruling the people in it.

Upon this Mr. Walter Harding was sent to Faku's residence to arrange matters with him, and on the 11th of April 1850 a treaty as formal as that of 1844 was drawn up in writing and received the mark of the chief, by which the boundary between Natal and Pondoland was declared to be

the Umtamvuna river from its mouth up to its westernmost source, and thence a straight line continued to the Kathlamba mountains. This treaty was not acted upon, however, nor was it ever ratified by the high commissioner, and shortly after it was arranged, when the lieutenant-governor of Natal restored six hundred of the cattle and the remembrance of the penalty attached to his dignity was less distinct, the chief wished to withdraw from it; but from that time forward it was admitted that the twelfth clause of the Maitland treaty could not be carried out.

Sir George Grey looked upon the tract along the base of the Kathlamba as waste land at his disposal as the highest authority in South Africa. After the war between the Basuto and the Free State in 1858, he was desirous of locating there some of the restless clans whose presence on the Basuto frontier was a permanent hindrance to the establishment of order. His plan was, however, frustrated by an exceedingly clever movement of Nehemiah Moshesh, who under his father's directions hastened across the Drakensberg with a few followers, and located himself on the head waters of the Umzimvubu before the others could be got away. Nehemiah's presence there prevented the settlement of his father's opponents, who would have established a rival Basuto power in Nomansland, as the country below the Drakensberg had now come to be termed. It led also to the claim which in later times the Basuto chiefs set up to the present district of Matatiele as part of their country. At first the most persevering efforts were made by Nehemiah to obtain Sir George Grey's recognition of his right to the land there, and when these failed, the old chief Moshesh advanced a claim on the ground of a cession of the district to him by Faku. But the claim was never recognised by any British authority, and a commission that investigated it in 1875 came to a decision adverse to the Basuto pretensions.

Sir George Grey also proposed to remove the Griqua captain Adam Kok from the district of Philippolis, north of

the Orange river, to a part of Nomansland. Early in 1861 he determined to pay a visit in person to the country between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, to make arrangements for the location of the Griquas in the uplands, and to ascertain for himself the cause of the constant commotions in the inhabited parts, so that he might be able to devise a remedy. But he fell ill at King-Williamstown, and therefore sent Sir Walter Currie in his stead. As a preliminary step that gentleman paid a visit to Faku. The reverend Thomas Jenkins, a Wesleyan missionary who possessed the confidence of the Pondo chief, was present at the interview, as were also the great counsellors of the tribe. Faku asserted his personal desire for peace, and accused his enemies of being the cause of the disturbances. He thought the colonial government would be able to keep them in better order than he could, and he therefore offered to cede the whole country between the Drakensberg and a line which he named, extending from the Umtata to the Umzimkulu, upon condition of the British authorities exercising direct rule over it.

It was a very politic offer, this of the clever Pondo chief. For years he had been vainly endeavouring to reduce his enemies to subjection, and now he proposed to hand most of them over to the colonial government to be kept quiet, while he crushed or absorbed the rest. This is not the light in which the proposed cession was regarded by the British authorities, but there can be no doubt of its being Faku's secret view. The line would leave him more land than he ever actually had under his control before, and it would leave his enemies within it entirely at his mercy. That the offer thus made in March 1861, though considered by the colonial government thenceforth as binding upon the Pondos, was not acted upon at once was no fault of Faku. Sir Walter Currie went carefully over the proposed line, and visited the chiefs living northwest of it. He found each of them professing a desire for peace and endeavouring to throw the blame of the disturbances upon some of the

others. All expressed a wish to be taken under the protection of the colonial government, and a willingness to receive magistrates.

It 1863 Sir Philip Wodehouse located Adam Kok's Griquas in that part of Nomansland east of the Umzimvubu, which is now comprised in the districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu. It is from them that the whole territory has since been termed Griqualand East. The Natal government pressed its claim to the land ceded to it by Faku in April 1850, and a meeting was arranged between Sir Walter Currie and Dr. Sutherland, the surveyor-general of Natal, to define clearly the western boundary of that colony. The meeting took place on the 1st of March 1862. Dr. Sutherland claimed a line from the source of the Umtamvuna to the source of the Tina, which would have taken in a large portion of the unoccupied territory and not have left sufficient ground on which to locate the Griquas, but to this Sir Walter Currie would not consent. They could not come to an agreement, and the high commissioner then ignored the Natal claim and fixed the boundary where it is at present.

The object of placing the Griquas there was to establish in Nomansland a power, acting under British prestige, believed to be sufficiently civilised to set a good example and sufficiently strong to maintain order. But the scheme was an utter failure, and in a few years Adam Kok was obliged to ask that a British resident should be stationed in the country to endeavour to keep the different sections of the inhabitants from exterminating each other.

Kok was able to perform one service, however, in driving Nehemiah Moshesh out of the country. That individual had been doing his utmost to extend Basuto influence. When the Griquas left Philippolis they moved into Basutoland, where they remained nearly two years before they crossed the Drakensberg. Old Moshesh was desirous that Kok should settle in Nomansland as his vassal, and as the Griqua captain would not do so, Nehemiah was strengthened for the purpose of annoying him. The Basuto managed to

plunder the Griquas of a good many cattle, but ultimately Nehemiah and his robber band were attacked and compelled to recross the Drakensberg.

The wars which began in 1865 between the Basuto and the Orange Free State drove a considerable number of people into Nomansland. In 1867 the Monaheng clan under Lebenya abandoned Basutoland and crossed over the mountains into the waste country below. Another large clan followed under Makwai, the chief of highest rank in the house of Moshesh, when his stronghold was taken by the Free State forces. These served as centres of attraction, to which different small parties were subsequently drawn. There went also over from the Wittebergen reserve, now the district of Herschel, the Batlokwa clan under the chief Lehana, son of the celebrated Sikonyela, the lifelong enemy of Moshesh. In March 1869, just after the convention of Aliwal North was arranged, Sir Philip Wodehouse crossed over into Nomansland, taking with him from Herschel the Hlubi chief Zibi, grandson of Umpangazita, with his clan. Another section of the Hlubi tribe, under the chief Ludidi, a younger brother of Langalibalele, had been resident in the country some years. To all the recent immigrants the high commissioner gave tracts of land along the base of the Drakensberg. Makwai he placed under Adam Kok, and extended the Griqua district westward to the Kenigha river, thus including in it the whole of Matatiele. Lebenya and Zibi he placed together, giving them the ground from the Kenigha to the Tina, without laying down any boundary between them. The land between the Tina and the Eland's river he gave to Lehana.

In January 1872 a commission, consisting of Messrs. C. D. Griffith, governor's agent in Basutoland, James Ayliff, resident magistrate of Wodehouse, and J. Murray Grant, inspector of the frontier armed and mounted police, was appointed to investigate the cause of the constant dissensions in Nomansland and to arrange boundaries between the various tribes and clans.

The commission found the country in a state of almost indescribable confusion. Everywhere traces of burnt kraals and devastated gardens were to be seen, while there was hardly a clan that did not regard its neighbours as its enemies. Most of them, however, seemed weary of war and willing to submit to a controlling power. These asked that the Cape colonial government should assume authority over them all, by sending magistrates into the country, in which case they promised to pay hut tax. The chiefs who made this request were Makaula, son of Ncapayi, of the Bacas, Umhlonhlo, of the Pondomsis, Lehana, of the Batlokwa, Lebenya, of the Basuto, Ludidi and Zibi, of the Hlubis, and Jojo, of the Xesibes. The last named was on the Pondo side of the line named by Faku, all the others were within Nomansland. Umditshwa held aloof from the commission.

Umqikela, who on the 29th of October 1867 had succeeded Faku as paramount chief of the Pondos, objected to interference in the territory west of the Umzimvubu, as he denied that any land on that side had been ceded by his father. The commission, however, recommended that the line described by Faku to Sir Walter Currie should be maintained, and the colonial government decided to adhere to it, as it had been recognised ever since 1861.

Some boundaries were laid down and some promises to keep the peace obtained, but the commission could do little beyond reporting the condition of affairs. The conclusion it arrived at was embodied in a recommendation that Nomansland should be brought under British authority, and that magistrates should be appointed to exercise jurisdiction over the people.

This was the condition of matters in the abandoned territory at the close of 1872, and it shows how disastrous to South Africa was the mistaken policy of the time. Twenty thousand Europeans could easily have been provided with homes on land that had been allotted to barbarians.

CHAPTER LXX.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER—(*continued*).

With the abandonment of the Transkeian territory the expansion of British Kaffraria was no longer possible, and its area was too small and its European population too few in number to maintain an independent government, still the majority of its white inhabitants were as much opposed to its incorporation with the Cape Colony as ever. They believed that as a crown colony Great Britain must continue to protect them, whereas if they were absorbed by the Cape Colony the probabilities were that the imperial troops would be withdrawn, and now that a great number of Bantu were massed on their border, their position was more dangerous than before.

In September 1864 Sir Philip Wodehouse visited King-Williamstown, when a deputation from the inhabitants waited upon him and expressed their views to this effect. They reminded him of his promise that they should not be annexed without their consent, and they asked him to endeavour to procure the establishment of a legislative council in the province. He replied admitting his promise, but pointing out the deficiency in the revenue and the disinclination of the imperial government to make further grants, and held out no expectation that their views would be supported in England. A minority of the people in the province, led by Mr.—later Sir—J. Gordon Sprigg, seeing no prospect of successful resistance and realising that a British dependency unable to pay its civil servants, much less to carry out any public works, was an anomaly, now declared

in favour of annexation and an attempt to obtain responsible government for the united colony. On the 10th of September a meeting was held at the village of Maclean, when a memorial to the high commissioner was drawn up and signed by one hundred and forty-five persons in favour of incorporation with the Cape Colony.

In February 1864 the whole of the convicts in British Kaffraria were sent to East London, where they were employed thereafter for some time in constructing a sea wall on the eastern side of the mouth of the Buffalo river. It was the cheapest way of employing them, which was the principal object in view, as the harbour works were very slightly advanced by their labour.

In December 1864 the popular lieutenant-governor, Lieutenant-Colonel John Maclean, was transferred to Natal, very much to the regret of the inhabitants, European and Bantu alike, all of whom held him in the highest esteem. On the 24th of that month Mr. Robert Graham, civil commissioner of Albany, succeeded him, with the title of governor's deputy.

On the 13th of July 1864 the governor informed the secretary of state that both the colonies opposed union because they wished the responsibility for the protection of British Kaffraria to remain with the British government, and he suggested that the best way to bring it about would be by an act of the imperial parliament. This was approved of, and on the 14th of December he forwarded the draft of a bill for the purpose. Mr. Cardwell promised to bring it before parliament, as he desired annexation in order that the British treasury might be relieved of expense.

The imperial act was passed, but was only to come in force in case the Cape parliament should refuse to annex the little colony of its own accord. It provided that "if the parliament of the Cape of Good Hope makes provision for the incorporation of British Kaffraria, which they are hereby empowered to do, and the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, as governor of British Kaffraria, assents to such

provision by an instrument under his hand and under the seal of British Kaffraria, then from and after the date of such assent British Kaffraria shall become incorporated with the Cape of Good Hope on the terms of such provision for all purposes whatever, as if it had always formed part of the Cape of Good Hope." It gave four members in the house of assembly for two new constituencies into which British Kaffraria was to be divided, and as the members representing the eastern province of the existing Cape Colony believed that these would of necessity be ranged on their side, it was regarded as a menace by the west.

Armed with this act, Sir Philip Wodehouse opened parliament in Capetown on the 27th of April 1865. In his address he stated that the imperial authorities were steadfastly opposed to the extension of European occupation, but that he hoped to obtain the Tambookie location within the borders of the colony for settlement by farmers. As parliament in 1862 declined to sanction the annexation of British Kaffraria, he had applied to the imperial parliament to pass an act for that purpose, which had been done. Bills would, however, be introduced to enable the Cape parliament to effect the annexation itself, and also to increase the number of representatives in both houses.

On the 16th of May the bills alluded to were brought before the house of assembly by the colonial secretary, and were read the first time. It was proposed in one of them to increase the members of the legislative council to twenty-two and of the house of assembly to sixty-two. Thereupon Mr. Solomon gave notice of his intention to bring forward a resolution protesting against the unconstitutional and unjust deed of the imperial parliament in passing the annexation act now held in terrorem over the Cape.

Accordingly on the 22nd of May he moved, and Mr. Molteno seconded, a resolution of great length to that effect. Mr. Rutherfoord moved, and Mr. Manuel seconded, an amendment modifying some of the expressions, but retaining the full sense of Mr. Solomon's motion, and after a brief

discussion, in which the opinion was freely expressed that a parliament in the colony was a mere deceptive sham if it could be subjected to such "arbitrary interference" in a matter of the greatest importance, on the 23rd the amendment was carried without a division. It ended with the following paragraphs:—

"This house is further of opinion that the course adopted by Sir P. E. Wodehouse in reference to the annexation and native questions generally, as illustrated by the papers upon these subjects now before the house, is one calculated to deprive him of that degree of the confidence of this house and of the country, which is so essential to the proper conduct of affairs in a colony in which representative institutions have been established.

"That for these reasons, whilst giving no opinion upon the expediency or otherwise of the incorporation of British Kaffraria with this colony, this house, on behalf of the people of this colony, protests, as it hereby does protest, against this arbitrary act of the imperial parliament, prompted, avowedly, by a desire to throw upon this colony the whole or a largely increased portion of the expense and burden of the measures for the military defence of the crown colony of British Kaffraria, over which measures, as well as over the policy pursued towards the native tribes beyond our frontier, which are entirely in the hands of her Majesty's high commissioner, this parliament has not exercised, and cannot exercise, any control, and for which it is not, and ought not to be held, in any way responsible. And this house further protests against this colony being held responsible for any larger portion of the expense of frontier defence than it now bears in consequence of the incorporation of British Kaffraria which has been forced upon it. And this house protests against the fact of its legislating on the subject being taken to imply its concurrence in that act, or its admission that the imperial parliament was justified, under the circumstances, to exercise its paramount authority in the way that it has done."

The struggle between the western and the eastern members began with a motion to amalgamate the Kaffrarian annexation bill and the additional representation bill brought in by the government. The easterns naturally wished the annexation bill to be carried, which they believed would give them four more votes, and the additional representation bill, which would keep the number of members of the two provinces in the same proportion as it then was, to be thrown out. Most of the midland members, however, seemed more apprehensive of eastern than of western

domination, and the bills were therefore amalgamated by twenty votes against eleven and on the 30th of May were read for the first time in the house of assembly in that form.

On the 2nd of June the amalgamated bill passed its second reading by twenty-one votes to ten, but on the 29th, when it was to have come before the assembly as a committee, the debates were so animated and the opposition of the eastern members was so determined that the house sat through the whole night and did not rise until eleven o'clock in the morning of the 30th. The opposition, which now degenerated into simple obstruction, was continued until the 19th of July, when at last the bill reached the committee stage.

On the 4th of August, when it came on for the third reading, the eastern members, rather than be defeated on a division, left the house in a body. It was therefore carried, and on the 9th it came before the legislative council. There the opposition was even stronger than in the assembly, and was continued with hardly any respite until the 14th of September, when the bill passed its third reading by seven votes against six. The eastern members — the honourable Messrs. Robert Godlonton, George Wood, William Cock, Charles Pote, Samuel Cawood, and Henry Tucker — even then did not cease their opposition. They at once handed in a protest against the enactment of the bill, which was entered on the minutes, but of course had no effect.

On the 10th of October parliament was prorogued, after the longest and stormiest session yet known, and among other acts assented to on behalf of the crown was the one annexing British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.

It provided that as soon as the governor of British Kaffraria should pass an ordinance dividing that colony into two electoral divisions, and should proclaim in the *Gazette* the names of the members returned to the house of assembly for those divisions, the incorporation should be complete. For the election of members of the legislative

council, the two new divisions were to form part of the eastern province. The supreme court of British Kaffraria was abolished, and the eastern districts court was substituted for it, but the office for the registry of deeds remained as it was. The number of members of the legislative council was increased to twenty-one by adding three for the eastern and three for the western province, and of the house of assembly to sixty-six by creating, in addition to the two Kaffrarian divisions, the new divisions of Aliwal North, Namaqualand, Oudtshoorn, Piketberg, Richmond, Riversdale, Queenstown, and Victoria West, each to return two representatives.

On the 23rd of November an ordinance was issued by Sir Philip Wodehouse, as governor of British Kaffraria, dividing that territory into the two magisterial and fiscal districts of King-Williamstown and East London, each of which was to be an electoral division. A registration of qualified voters then took place, and courts were held for the nomination of members of the house of assembly. On the 5th of April 1866 the elections took place, when Mr. Joseph Walker and Dr. James Peters were returned for King-Williamstown, and Messrs. William Bell and Henry Sparks for East London. In King-Williamstown only one hundred and twenty-two voters went to the poll. On the 17th of April a proclamation was issued by the governor announcing the names of the members, and that all the preliminaries required by the annexation act being now completed, the two new districts previously forming British Kaffraria were incorporated with the Cape Colony.

On the same day, Mr. Simeon Jacobs, the attorney-general of British Kaffraria, was appointed solicitor-general, and forthwith went to reside in Grahamstown. The judge, Mr. James Coleman Fitzpatrick, was appointed a member of the supreme court, and on the 13th of August replaced Mr. Justice Connor as one of the judges of the eastern districts court, Mr. Petrus Johannes Denyssen being the other. Mr. Richard Taylor remained at King-Williamstown as civil

commissioner and resident magistrate, and Mr. Matthew Jennings remained at East London in the same capacity. Mr. Joseph Walker having resigned his seat, Mr.—later Sir —Charles Abercrombie Smith in August succeeded him as member of the house of assembly for King-Williamstown. Dr. Peters, the other member first elected, did not trouble himself to attend the next session, and consequently his seat was declared vacant. Mr.—afterwards Sir—Charles Mills, a gentleman of great ability who in later years became agent-general for the colony in England, was then, in April 1867, elected in his stead.

A proclamation was issued on the 17th of April 1866 directing the election of the six new members of the legislative council, and Messrs. John Centlivres Chase, Dennis Harper Kennelly, and Richard Joseph Painter were returned unopposed for the eastern districts, little or no interest being taken in the matter by the Kaffrarian electors.

From the commencement of 1866 the trade returns through East London are included in those of the Cape Colony. Previous to that time they were: imports, 1862 £127,857, 1863 £152,377, 1864 £105,371, and 1865 £78,349; exports, 1862 £43,873, 1863 £24,882, 1864 £31,141, and 1865 £28,928. The population at the time of the annexation amounted to: Europeans 8,200, Bantu 81,000.

Wednesday the 17th of May 1865 was marked by one of the most violent storms known in Table Bay since the beginning of the century. A terrific gale from the north-west set in during the night of the 16th, and increased as the day wore on, driving enormous billows before it, and heaping up the water in the bay. There were three steamers — the *Athens*, the *Dane*, and the *Briton*, all belonging to the Union Company—and twenty-five sea-going sailing vessels at anchor at ten o'clock in the morning, besides a large number of cargo and other boats moored near the shore. Early in the morning some of the vessels signalled that they needed additional cables and anchors, and as very large sums were offered by their agents, some

of those adventurous and skilful boatmen for whom Table Bay was then famous ventured to try to convey an anchor and cable to one of the ships, but when close alongside their boat was swamped, and twelve men lost their lives. The first officer of the *Athens* put off in a lifeboat with four volunteers from his ship as a crew to try to rescue the men, but when passing under the stern of the *Dane* his boat was capsized and one of her crew was drowned. The officer and the remainder of the crew managed to grasp ropes flung to them from the *Dane*, and were hauled on board that vessel alive.

During the day the barques *Star of the West*, *Alacrity*, *Deane*, *Frederick Bassil*, *Royal Arthur*, and *Royal Minstrel*, the brigs *Galatea* and *Jane*, the brigantine *Maria Johanna*, the schooners *Clipper*, *Fernande*, *Figilante*, *Isabel*, *Kehrweider*, and *Benjamin Miller*, the cutter *Gem*, and about thirty cargo and other boats parted their cables and were driven ashore between the castle and the mouth of Salt River. Their crews were all rescued, but many of them saved nothing except their lives.

Just after sunset the barque *City of Peterborough* parted her cables and struck on the Sceptre reef, where the cries of the unfortunate people on board could be heard from the shore, but no assistance could be rendered. Captain Wright had his wife and child with him, and there were twelve officers and seamen on board, fifteen souls in all. The night was so pitchy dark that the wreck could not be seen, but for an hour or so cries were heard, and then all was still but the roaring of the gale and the beating of the mountain waves on the shore. In the morning not a vestige of the wreck was to be seen, and it became certain that all on board had perished.

The *Athens*, *Dane*, and *Briton* had their steam up, which partly relieved the strain on their cables, but a little before six o'clock in the evening, as night was setting in, the last cable of the *Athens* snapped. She was to have left for Mauritius on the following day, but none of the passengers

had gone on board. Her first officer was in the *Dane*, and the second and third were on shore on leave. When her cable parted she tried to stand out to sea under full steam, and as long as she could be seen she was making some little headway. Whether her machinery broke down, or whether her fires were put out by the great seas that broke over her, is not known; but about seven o'clock she struck on the rocks at Mouille Point. People gathered quickly on the shore, but it was impossible to rescue the doomed crew. Their shouts were heard for more than two hours, and then the *Athens* went to pieces. Captain Smith, Dr. Curtis, and twenty-eight firemen, seamen, and others who formed her crew perished.

The *Dane*, the *Briton*, and eight sailing vessels rode out the gale, but most of them were badly damaged. The *Galatea*, the *Jane*, the *Frederick Bassil*, and the *Gem* were got afloat again, and were repaired: all the others were total wrecks.

The *Dane* was lost some months later. She left Table Bay for Zanzibar, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of December ran on a previously unknown reef about three kilometres and a half from the shore near Cape Recife. She broke up at once, but all on board got safely to land.

On the 17th of May, the day of the great gale in Table Bay, the pretty village of Swellendam was almost destroyed by fire. About two o'clock in the afternoon a building was seen to be alight, and as a perfect hurricane was blowing, the flames spread very rapidly. The public offices, the Wesleyan chapel, the bank, the office of the *Overberg Courant*, several stores, the telegraph office, and over forty dwelling houses were burned to the ground. Towards evening very heavy rain set in, or even more damage would have been done.

The relief works at Tulbagh Kloof were stopped in October 1865, as there were no funds available to carry them on. The severe drought from which the country had

suffered so long still continued, so that employment was not to be had on farms, and the distressed labourers were therefore obliged to betake themselves to the towns and villages, where private benevolence was heavily taxed to prevent actual starvation. The colony had passed through periods of depression before, but never through one of such intensity or long duration.

The pressure of hunger was felt by the Bantu as well as by the other inhabitants, and cattle thefts increased to such an extent that the frontier farmers were almost driven to desperation. In the district of King-Williamstown a number of persons formed themselves into a "mutual protection association," but on the first occasion of exercising the power which they assumed, a retaliatory raid upon the kraal of the petty chief Umjusa, in which a little property was destroyed and two or three individuals were slightly hurt, several of them got into serious trouble for contravening the law. They were sent to Port Elizabeth for trial, on the ground that public opinion on the frontier was so strong in their favour that no jury would bring in a verdict against them. At Port Elizabeth they were acquitted, but the association was brought to an end. The leading member of it, a man of ability who had once been an officer in the British German legion, became in later years a cabinet minister of the Cape Colony.

On the 6th of September 1866 parliament met in Capetown. The delay caused by the carrying out of the British Kaffraria annexation act and the subsequent election of new members for both houses had prevented its opening sooner. The elections had largely turned upon the question of responsible government, those who favoured that measure being convinced that the governor's action must have increased the desire for the change they advocated, but the east was still firmly opposed to it, and it was certain that a motion for its introduction would be outvoted, so it was not brought on. The government was in a more unfavourable position than it had ever been before. The highly

talented, liberal, and courteous attorney-general, Mr. William Porter, who had on many occasions smoothed away differences by his conciliatory address, had retired from office, and on the 20th of March 1866 had been succeeded by Mr. William Downes Griffith, whose manners and speeches were irritating and conducive of opposition. The session was hardly opened when the loss of Mr. Porter began to be felt by all parties in parliament, as well as by the administration.

In his opening speech the governor stated that the public expenditure during the past year had exceeded the revenue by £94,600. He reminded the members that the outlay had been greatly increased since 1854 by the action of parliament, and that the tendency would necessarily be towards still further enlargement. Since that date sixteen new seats of magistracy had been created, the eastern districts court and many periodical courts had been established, prisons had been erected all over the colony, the hospitals had been improved, the frontier police had been increased, the educational system had been developed, telegraphs had been subsidised, and much more had been done. The postal department cost £17,000 a year more than it did then, education £15,000, hospitals £14,000, police and jails £21,000, divisional courts £18,000, and the frontier mounted police £11,000. But since 1854 the wealth of the country, as shown by its exports, had more than trebled, so that the increase of expenditure was fully justified. He proposed to borrow £200,000 for five years at six per cent annual interest, to revise the customs duties to make them more productive, and to levy duties on exports for five years. To relieve the distress among the labouring classes and to prevent the crime then so prevalent owing to that distress, he proposed that the government should construct a railway from Wellington to Worcester in the west, and from Port Elizabeth towards Grahamstown in the east.

Parliament would not entertain the governor's proposal of a duty on exports nor sanction the construction of the

railways named. They passed bills to raise £250,000 on loan to pay unsecured debts and meet the current deficiency in the revenue, and they determined to reduce expenses to such an extent as to equalise the revenue and the expenditure without further taxation. The colonists, they declared, were quite unable to bear any new imposts. Already the farmers were crying out against the excessive taxes which they were obliged to pay, and some of them were moving to the republics as the only means of obtaining relief. To lay heavier burdens upon them would merely promote emigration, so that the revenue would be diminished instead of being enlarged. A retrenchment committee was appointed by the house of assembly, which took evidence and prepared a report in favour of abolishing several departments altogether, and cutting down others greatly. This report was adopted, and the governor was requested to frame the estimates for the coming year in accordance with it.

On the 28th of December the estimates were sent in, which showed a reduction of only a little more than £20,000 under those of the previous year. They were accompanied by a message in which the governor announced that he was opposed to retrenchment on the scale laid down, that he favoured strict economy, but held that with the growth of the colony and the advancement of its commerce and agriculture increased institutions were necessary. The reductions made in the estimates were chiefly in the expenses of parliament itself and in the abolition of a number of magistrates' courts, which irritated the members so greatly that they would not even discuss the matter. Instead of doing so, they requested that an appropriation bill for six months should be sent in, which was done on the following day.

There was no possibility of reconciling the conflicting views, so after supplies were voted to enable the administration to be carried on for the next half year, on the 12th of January 1867 parliament was prorogued. In the preceding session a vote of censure had been passed upon the governor,

it was his turn now, and he retorted in full measure, as his closing speech will show:

"I have requested your attendance here this day from the conviction that the public interests will not derive any advantage from the prolongation of the present session of parliament.

"It has been usual on all such occasions for the head of the government to pass some observations on the principal occurrences of the session, and in the name of the colony to recognise the services rendered by the two houses of parliament. And I have carefully considered what course I ought now to take.

"When the session opened, and it became my duty to put before you the position of affairs and the policy which the government proposed for your adoption, there was the greatest need for a calm and patient discussion of it, and for the application of sound but vigorous remedies. In that explanation I endeavoured, to the extent of my ability, to avoid the use of language which would cause irritation or annoyance in any quarter, or could oppose obstacles to the satisfactory progress of the business of the session. I do not now wish to conceal my regret that the session should have proved so unproductive of good measures, and that so very little has been done to improve our position.

"But one of the consequences of this failure is that I shall very shortly be obliged to request your attendance again in parliament. It will therefore be well for us, instead of dwelling with regret on the past, to turn our thoughts to an improvement of the future. It would be impossible for me at this moment to review the transactions of the session without using arguments and giving utterance to opinions that must inevitably be unacceptable to some of those to whom they must be addressed. A few months hence the recollection of these events will be less prominent, fresh occurrences will occupy our attention, and we may be able again to enter on our labours in charity and harmony, and anxious, above all, that the fruits of the new session may be a full compensation for the unprofitableness of that now closing."

In this session Mr. Solomon again endeavoured to conduct a bill through parliament for the abolition of state grants to various churches in the colony, which carried with them the appointment of the clergymen by the government. The feeling in favour of this measure had been growing of late years, but was not yet sufficiently strong to command a majority in parliament. On the 11th of October, after a lengthy but temperate discussion, the bill was thrown out in the house of assembly by twenty-eight votes against twenty-five.

On the 6th of October 1866 the governor met with a sore domestic calamity in the death of Lady Wodehouse, after a prolonged and painful illness. Her remains were interred in St. Paul's churchyard at Rondebosch. No other member of his family accompanied the governor to South Africa, so that he was now quite alone, and naturally much sympathy was felt with him in this time of trouble.

In the year 1867 the distress in the colony reached the most acute point that it attained at any time during the nineteenth century. The drought continued, so that agricultural operations could not be carried on to any extent, and as a consequence commerce remained depressed. The rough labourers, consisting almost entirely of coloured people, who at the best of times put nothing by, were unable to obtain employment, and were therefore in a condition of great want. As customary in such cases, they crowded into the towns, where they could manage to exist better than in the country.

Early in the year it was noticed that there was an unusual amount of sickness and a high rate of mortality in several districts of the colony, but more especially in certain streets in Capetown. It soon became evident that an epidemic of low fever was passing over, in which the death rate was fully one in five of persons attacked. Portions of the colony where there was no want of food escaped infection, but wherever coloured people were crowded closely together without sufficient sustenance, as at mission stations, in the large villages of the southwest, and in Capetown, the disease caused great havoc. During the five months from June to October 1867, when the fever was most prevalent, more than a thousand persons above the average number died in Capetown alone.

The city was divided into twelve districts, in each of which the government maintained a medical officer and supplied medicine free of charge. The municipality appointed a special streetkeeper to each of these districts, whose duty it was to see that destitute sick persons were conveyed to

the hospitals and to enforce cleanliness. A gang of labourers was employed to go round periodically, clear out the rooms in the worst streets, and whitewash the walls. The benevolent societies united their resources, and opened soup kitchens in different localities, where soup and bread were distributed to those in want of food. Through these exertions the epidemic gradually abated in violence, though it was not thoroughly overcome before January 1868.

In their report to the government, dated 31st of March 1868, the medical committee stated that "as bearing with importance and significance on their theory that this epidemic fever was essentially induced by dirt and want, they desired to record the important facts: 1st, that in the military garrison of the town, numbering with its followers one thousand nine hundred and sixty persons, there were but two deaths from fever; 2nd, that in the convict barracks, with their nine hundred occupants, there were no cases at all; 3rd, that at Robben Island, with its six hundred lepers, lunatics, and paupers, with their attendants, there were but two cases of the mildest kind; as also, that in the less populated country parts of the Cape division, there did not appear to have been more than eight hundred cases, with some sixty deaths, in a population of not less than eighteen thousand people, very many of whom were poor and badly housed and fed."

The number of Europeans attacked was much less than of coloured people, but as the races were in close contact with each other the white inhabitants were by no means immune. The medical officers, hospital attendants, and visitors of the sick suffered very severely, and those low grade whites who consorted with blacks and lived with them in the filthy outskirts of the city fared no better than their coloured companions. At that time Capetown was poorly provided with water, being dependent on the two old reservoirs only, and the people who resided in the higher portions of the city were unable, even if they had been willing, to obtain in the protracted drought more than barely sufficient for drinking and culinary purposes. To this circumstance, to

some extent at least, the spread of the fever may have been due.

In other parts of the colony the loss of life was considerable, but nowhere else was it so great, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in Capetown.

When parliament met, after a short recess, on the 13th of April 1867, the governor had nothing cheering to communicate beyond his acceptance of the decision as to retrenchment and his willingness to give effect to it in detail to the best of his ability. He informed the members that in the estimates to be submitted to them he would propose to dispense with six of the civil commissioners and resident magistrates, besides a large number of other officials, but that the revenue and expenditure could not be equalised in this manner, and further taxation would therefore be necessary. The deficiency in the estimates would be shown to be £59,129, and in addition to several taxing bills of minor importance a duty upon exports according to their value would be proposed to meet this.

The governor was not altogether without supporters in his views, and since the last session an attempt had been made by some of these to show that a duty on exports would not weigh heavily upon the colonists and would check the tendency to remove to the republics then so prevalent. A considerable portion of the wool and skins sent away by sea came from the republics, so that the burden would be partly borne by people living there, and removal from the colony would not relieve the farmers from it. But such arguments had no effect upon the great body of the European inhabitants, who were firmly opposed to the levy of any duties upon South African produce, and who believed that the governor's proposal, if carried out, would merely divert the northern trade to Natal. This was the opinion, also, of a great majority of the members of parliament, who heard with regret that the governor intended to bring on again a measure that had been rejected before. It foreboded, they feared, another session

as stormy as the last, though he stated that he would spare no pains to establish a good understanding.

"It is objected, he said, that the export duty is a tax upon wool. For what do we now hold this country but for wool? Take away wool, and in one locality copper, and, commercially speaking, what is left? The cost of governing this country is heavy, on account of its great extent and most scanty population. Year after year sheep farmers have gone in search of wealth into regions more and more remote. You have thought it right to follow them with posts, police, and magistracies, which they are now most desirous of retaining. Is it unjust that wool should pay, in some shape, for all that is done for it? If you object on principle to an export duty, and believe that it will operate injuriously on the wool growers, irrespectively of the actual rate, by all means adopt other plans for obtaining the funds. We suggest this as the cheapest, most feasible, and best adapted to our circumstances."

Following this, the governor made a statement which, in the distressed condition of the colony, created a feeling akin to consternation. He said:

"You are aware that for several years it has been the determination of the parliament and government of the united kingdom to require of its colonial possessions a considerable contribution towards the maintenance of the garrisons provided out of its own population for their military defence, and you know that from time to time the principle has been acted upon in most of the chief colonies. In the session of 1865 I placed before you correspondence showing an intention to make such a demand upon you, as well as the arguments by which in December 1864 I had endeavoured to obtain a postponement of it. In July following I was informed by the secretary of state that, in deference to my opinion that a more unfavourable time could not be selected, he had abstained from pressing the subject upon me under the existing difficulties, but that I must distinctly understand that postponement could not be of long duration, and that the whole subject of the military expenditure for the defence of the Cape must soon be carefully reviewed.

"In December 1865 I privately represented to the secretary of state how ill able the colony still was to take up any additional burden on this account, and succeeded in obtaining a further postponement. In October last I repeated that representation, but have been unsuccessful; and perhaps it was unreasonable to expect that her Majesty's government, by making such an exception in our case, should expose themselves to just remonstrances from other colonies in whose case the principle had been fully enforced.

"The purport of the instructions conveyed to me is as follows: there are in the South African command five infantry regiments, besides the

Cape mounted rifles, in respect to which last I have not received any directions. Of the five regiments, one will be immediately withdrawn, one will be considered as allotted to Natal and St. Helena, the remaining three will be regarded as the garrison of the Cape. And if the terms now proposed be accepted, during 1867 no charge will be made for any part of this force. In 1868 one regiment must be paid for at the rate of £40 per man, in 1869 two must be paid for at the same rate, and for the three following years payment must be made at the Australian rate for the whole force in the colony, namely £40 for every infantry soldier and £70 for every artilleryman. In default of any of these payments, her Majesty's government will be at liberty to withdraw the troops, either wholly, or to such extent as they may judge expedient."

After this announcement, which was felt by all the members as requiring from the colony a sum of money which it would be impossible under the existing circumstances to raise, with the alternative of leaving the frontier districts exposed to the ravages of tribes of barbarians that, much against the will of the European inhabitants, had been recently massed upon the border, the governor proceeded to set forth his plan for bringing the administration and the representatives of the people into harmony with each other. He said:

"There is yet one other subject, but the most important of all, to which I wish on this occasion to call your attention, and in respect to which the remarks I am about to make, and the proposal I shall submit to you, must be accepted as emanating from the local government, and put forth exclusively on their responsibility. Whether the proposal find favour in your eyes, or whether you regard it as inadmissible, I hope you will receive it as prompted by a constant attention to your affairs and examination of your position, as well as by the conviction that at this crisis the government cannot consistently with its duty shrink from suggesting any measure calculated, in its opinion, to afford relief to the colony. I refer to the present constitution of the legislature of the colony. You will remember that in the course of last year a proposition was publicly mooted for the abolition of the legislative council. But I should be sorry if the proposal I am about to make were regarded in that light, or if we could be accused of desiring to draw a comparison between the merits of the two houses of parliament. On the contrary, I wish you dispassionately to consider whether one legislative chamber might not with advantage be substituted for the two now existing. I honestly believe that in the present state of the country, and with such a form of executive government as you now have, the scheme of representation by means of two houses constitutes an unnecessary burthen, pecuniary and general, on the people of the colony.

No argument is necessary to establish its expense, and in other respects the weight of it is almost equally self evident. In England, a seat in the house of commons is regarded as a mark of honourable distinction, and the right to take part in its proceedings is an enviable privilege. In this colony, on the contrary, members of parliament are invariably spoken of as those who submit to heavy sacrifices for the public good. When a vacancy occurs, discussions always arise as to the probability of inducing eligible gentlemen to devote themselves to parliamentary business, and at the same time to submit to exclusion from political office. But it is not so much from consideration of the burthen as on other grounds that I hope you will give this proposal a patient examination. The executive government does not now possess the means of exercising that influence over the deliberations of parliament which is essential to good government. There is a constant tendency to resist our recommendations, unaccompanied by any indication in other quarters of a better general policy, still less of a power to exercise a steady and healthy control over the action of parliament. We have at all times opposed to us the common propensity of mankind to find fault with those in authority, the strong temptation to those out of office to induce a belief in their superior abilities, unchecked by any responsibilities. We have nothing to counteract these influences. We have no prizes to offer to political talent and ambition. The greater the numbers of the two houses and the greater the difficulties in which the colony is placed, the stronger does the pressure on the government become, the less support does it receive. Possibly the introduction of responsible government might produce more unanimity of action. If it did not, the weakness and confusion would be greater than ever.

"Again, I do not believe there is any prospect of this colony being governed in a manner calculated to promote the best interests of the people, unless means can be found for allaying that most pernicious political jealousy which divides the eastern and western provinces, and under the influence of which a member who lends himself to the hindrance of all useful business is held up to his constituents as meritoriously discharging the functions of their representative. If this pernicious spirit cannot be overcome, and that speedily, your condition must day by day become worse. The public looks to the government, and very properly, for the introduction of useful measures; but the government itself is paralysed by the anticipation that its measures will fall to the ground, not so much from inherent defects as from the operation of provincial hostility. As a remedy, separation under existing circumstances recommends itself less than at any former period. Removal of the seat of government is, I apprehend, equally improbable. But the occasional assembly of the legislature elsewhere than at Capetown is in itself very desirable, and may, if you think fit, be rendered easy of accomplishment. In 1864, having accidental facilities in that year for so doing, I called the parliament together at Grahamstown; and although I have been

astonished at the personal consequences to myself, consequences which might well deter me from making any similar attempt, I am nevertheless satisfied that what was done then was right and proper, and that the welfare of the colony can best be assured by concessions of that nature, demanding the smallest sacrifice. Indeed, in making this proposal, I have no wish to keep out of view the fact that it includes concessions. I avow my desire to obtain now these most moderate concessions, as the means of delivering the colony from the present bickering, and perhaps of saving it from being at some future day divided into two discontented and weak communities. It may even be questioned whether the term concession can be properly applied to an arrangement by means of which, and at no cost, the whole colony can obtain that good government and useful legislation which are now in a great degree beyond its reach. Moreover, it is in the eastern districts that the functions of government are more immediately called into action, and that the most difficult political questions present themselves for solution, and I have sometimes observed on the part of western members — I hope I may say it without offence — I have observed a disposition, when what are termed native questions have been under discussion, to abdicate their proper functions, to abstain from a careful examination of the views or proposals of the government on their merits, and to set aside in deference to the eastern members.

"It is now, and whatever may be its form, it must ever be, one of the most important and at the same time most difficult duties of the executive government, to hold a just balance between the European and native races; and that is, above all things, a matter in which it most especially needs the impartial and enlightened support and control of western members. If that control is to be wisely and beneficially exerted, it must be guided by personal acquaintance with the matters treated of, and with the people whose interests are at stake, an acquaintance which can scarcely be acquired without, at least, an occasional visit to that part of the colony.

"It is manifest that the numbers of the two houses of parliament, as now constituted, present a most formidable impediment to the attainment of such advantages; and it is for that and many other reasons that I venture to ask you to inquire whether better arrangements may not be made.

"I would suggest that the colony should be divided as equally as practicable into six electoral circles, each to return three members; and that to the eighteen to be thus elected should be added three officers of the executive government.

"This proposal is incompatible with the immediate introduction of responsible government. But with a legislature thus composed, I believe that a sufficient degree of popular control could be exercised over an executive formed on the present model. I think that in each circle there would be found those competent to represent it

in parliament, and glad to find themselves distinguished by their election.

"With such a body there would be no difficulty in convening it at either end of the colony, as the public necessities might dictate. Hereafter, as the colony advances in wealth, intelligence, and civilisation, and when it feels itself in a position to claim parliamentary government, with the accompaniments properly appertaining to it,—and without which, to say the least, it creates much embarrassment,—then it will be no difficult task to restore the present representative bodies. What are now so highly needed are union and economy.

"I trust that in thus submitting the proposal at the opening of your session, I have followed the course which is both most respectful to yourselves and most likely to gain for it an impartial verdict. You are perfectly able to pronounce upon its merits, and in your hands I must now leave it. In the hour of your country's real need, you will cast aside all personal considerations, and you will seek only her true interests."

The plan thus brought forward was similar to that adopted some years later for the election of members of the legislative council, with the exception of the right of three officials appointed by the crown to hold seats. Time was allowed for the consideration of so momentous a change, as early in the session the colonial secretary gave notice that he would move in the house of assembly on the 8th of June:

"That in the present condition of the colony it is desirable, with a view to economy and the better administration of affairs, that there should be only one legislative chamber.

"That it is further desirable that the number of parliamentary representatives should be reduced below the present number.

"That it is further desirable that for the election of the members of the single legislative chamber the present electoral divisions be grouped in six electoral circles, as under, and that each circle return three members.

"That the governor be respectfully requested to introduce a bill for giving effect to the preceding resolutions.

	Europeans.	*Coloured people.*
"Circle of King-Williamstown - -	26,855	181,613
" Grahamstown - - -	30,347	44,016
" Graaff-Reinet - - -	30,168	43,283
" Swellendam - - -	32,561	29,748
" Tulbagh - - - -	27,803	49,010
" Capetown - - - -	34,138	37,654"

Antagonism to this proposal of the governor was expressed generally throughout the colony, and it was ascertained at once that the members of parliament would unitedly oppose it as an act, not only of retrogression, but of political suicide. No one had a word to say in favour of it. The voice of all parties was that the condition of the country was indeed deplorable, but to add so greatly to the power of the executive government was not the way to improve it. And so, finding that there was no possibility of carrying the measure, or anything like it, when the time came for bringing his proposed resolutions before the house of assembly, Mr. Southey withdrew his notice, and another of Sir Philip Wodehouse's plans was shattered and gone.

At that very moment a little sparkling stone, picked up far away on the bank of the Orange river, which M. Heritte, the French consul, pronounced to be a diamond which he would willingly give £500 for, was being exhibited in Capetown; but no one could yet foresee that the finding of this brilliant gem by a little child was to alter the whole aspect of affairs in South Africa and replace the deepest depression with unwonted prosperity.

With regard to payment for the troops, both houses of parliament regarded it as impossible. A contribution of £10,000 a year was already being made towards that object, and the frontier armed and mounted police, which was really a defensive force, was maintained entirely by the colony. They resolved therefore to appeal to the mother country to act generously in the matter, and with this view the following resolutions were carried in the house of assembly:

"That the house, while recognising with sentiments of profound gratitude the fostering care of the British government and the generous protection afforded to the colony by the liberal employment of the British forces and expenditure of national treasure in its behalf, learns with great regret and anxiety that it is the intention of her Majesty's government to withdraw the troops at present stationed in it, unless a sum of £40 per man be paid by the colony for their maintenance.

"The house is of opinion that this colony, while willing to do all in its power to meet the views of the imperial government, is totally

unable to contribute towards its defence in money more than it now does (about £100,000 per annum), and that it must therefore be left to her Majesty's government to act in the matter as it may deem just and expedient, with due regard to the peace and welfare of the colony and of the native tribes within and beyond its borders. The house considers, however, that the circumstances and situation of this colony, particularly in reference to the aboriginal tribes,* are peculiar and perilous, and such as to establish a very strong claim on the part of the colony to the exceptional consideration and treatment of the imperial government.

"That these resolutions be transmitted to his Excellency the governor by respectful address, with a view to their being forwarded to the secretary of state for the colonies, with a request for their favourable consideration."

The legislative council adopted these resolutions, but added to them a number of explanatory statements in confirmation of their views. Sir Philip Wodehouse supported the parliament in this matter, on the ground that it would be inexpedient to weaken the power of the executive by removing the garrison, and the imperial government thereupon deferred pressing the claim, and withdrew some of the troops gradually, but did not entirely denude the colony of British soldiers, though payment for their services was not made.

In this session Mr. Molteno brought on again his bill for the introduction of responsible government, which was rejected in the house of assembly by twenty-nine votes against twenty-two.

*By *aboriginal* tribes is here meant the Bantu, who are really no more entitled to be so termed than the descendants of the slaves in the colony are. The Bushmen, the real aborigines of Africa south of the Zambesi, had almost completely disappeared, and no longer gave any one a moment's thought. Sir Philip Wodehouse did not respect their right to territory one whit more than the European colonists, the Hottentots, or the Bantu had done. In giving out the land along the Drakensberg to various clans of Bantu, he took no greater notice of its Bushman occupants than if they had been baboons, nor would any other official in South Africa have thought or acted differently. By no one were they regarded as having any right except to life and liberty if they would keep out of the way, even the poor right to the exclusive title of aborigines, with such claim for consideration as that might give, was denied to them.

Mr. Solomon's bill for the withdrawal of state support to the clergymen of various religious bodies was passed by the house of assembly, but was rejected in the legislative council by nine votes against five.

The governor's proposal to levy duties upon exports was rejected, and the only additional taxation that was consented to was a charge on persons depasturing cattle on crown lands, a practice which was very prevalent in some parts of the colony, and tended to prevent people from acquiring and settling permanently on farms. As a means of equalising the revenue and the expenditure, retrenchment on the scale approved of in the preceding session was abandoned, and none of the magistracies were abolished, though other expenses were cut down considerably. The rivalry between the east and the west was strongly exhibited, particularly towards the close of the session, which ended on the 16th of August.

The only favourable feature that was observable in the financial condition of the country at this time was that the exports were of somewhat greater value than the imports, as may be seen in the following statements:

Imports of the Cape Colony.

1862 - -	£2,498,692	1865 - -	£2,086,700
1863 - -	2,065,200	1866 - -	1,914,060
1864 - -	2,349,048	1867 - -	2,248,867

Trade through the different ports.

	1866.		1867.	
	Imports.	*Exports.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*
Through Port Elizabeth -	£913,077	£1,790,375	£1,210,809	£1,671,409
„ Capetown -	859,707	525,722	899,205	510,705
„ East London -	70,528	188,342	44,038	104,502
„ Mossel Bay -	35,135	42,530	43,442	50,884
„ Port Alfred -	8,630	—	28,936	56,982
„ Port Beaufort -	582	19,374	4,694	—
„ Simonstown -	26,401	—	17,743	343
	£1,914,060	£2,566,343	£2,248,867	£2,394,825

Exports of the Cape Colony.

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.
Wool	£1,276,542	£1,496,329	£1,865,703	£1,680,826	£2,102,513	£1,927,628
Hides and skins	128,641	140,353	146,051	149,505	181,424	174,346
Copper ore	93,565	103,214	122,602	118,297	88,732	120,521
Grain, meal, etc.	35,977	56,667	53,202	30,244	17,709	12,471
Wine	32,468	48,391	26,539	25,716	16,048	11,708
Dried fruit	19,198	13,720	21,596	11,091	3,960	12,540
Dried fish	11,945	13,118	21,028	12,977	21,847	14,184
Horses	5,177	6,605	7,925	3,275	3,746	770
Aloes	3,218	6,607	7,399	9,481	9,459	6,107
Ostrich feathers	—	—	—	—	66,416	73,585
Ivory	—	—	—	—	6,035	8,324
Argol	—	—	—	—	1,539	2,381
Other South African products	94,207	112,891	123,267	103,823	46,915	30,260
	£1,700,938	£1,997,895	£2,395,312	£2,145,235	£2,566,343	£2,394,825

CHAPTER LXXI.

SIR PHILIP EDMOND WODEHOUSE, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER—(*continued*).
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CHARLES CRAUFURD HAY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT, 20TH OF MAY TO 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

In 1867 Prince Alfred, then duke of Edinburgh, paid his second visit to South Africa. He was at the time captain of the steam frigate *Galatea*, which arrived in Simon's Bay from England on the 15th of August. On the 24th of that month he laid the foundation stone of a dock in Table Bay, and on the 7th of September left in her Majesty's steamer *Petrel* to visit the Knysna, a district containing some of the most beautiful scenery in the colony. He was accompanied by the governor and a large staff, several of whom were accommodated in her Majesty's steamer *Racoon*, which accompanied the *Petrel*. In the extensive forests of the Knysna some elephants were still preserved, and a hunting excursion was arranged, in which two were killed, one by the duke himself. On the 2nd of October the *Galatea* left Simon's Bay for Australia.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 21st of October the transport *Bosphorus*, bound to Bombay, struck on a reef near Cape Saint Francis. The weather had been stormy, and a heavy sea was running, so that the ship broke up within three hours after striking. There were ninety-eight men on board, of whom only forty reached the shore alive. These managed to save themselves on pieces of the wreck, but they had been obliged to cast away all their clothing, and some of them were badly bruised.

In November the long drought from which the colony had suffered was broken for a short time by very heavy rains, which in some places fell like sheets of water. The benefit to the country was considerable, but unfortunately dry weather set in again and destroyed the hope that a cycle of better seasons had commenced.

There was not much change in the condition of the colony in 1868, but what little was perceptible was for the better. The crops, though not very good, were more productive than in the preceding year. The number of European mechanics and labourers without employment in the towns was sensibly diminished, though this arose from the removal of many to other countries, not from an increased demand for their services in South Africa. A fall in the price of wool in England caused the exports to show a reduction in value below those of 1867, but the quantity produced was greater, and other articles were rapidly rising in importance.

In April the monthly mail to Mauritius, which gave the Cape Colony the advantage of connection with the overland route between England and India, was discontinued, but at the same time the Union Steamship Company contracted to convey two mails in a month from and to England by the Atlantic route.

In the session of the Cape parliament, from the 20th of May to the 2nd of September 1868, no business of much importance was transacted, though some useful legislation connected with minor matters was carried through. Mr. Solomon's bill for gradually abolishing state aid to certain churches was approved in the house of assembly by a majority of one, but was thrown out in the legislative council by twelve votes against five.

The greater part of the northern border was at this time in a disturbed condition, owing to depredations by Korana clans and the inability of the other inhabitants, European or mixed breed, successfully to oppose them. Long before the date now reached the Koranas north of the Orange had sunk into obscurity, as many of them had been destroyed,

and those that remained were surrounded by more powerful Bantu clans, so that they could no longer live by plunder as they had done in the early years of the century. But south of that river, where the population consisted only of a few nomadic European and halfbreed graziers and a wretched remnant of the aboriginal Bushmen, who could hardly keep soul and body together now that the game was destroyed, there was still a field open in which they could prey upon others. Here then the most daring of the little bands collected and pursued the occupation of robbers.

The territory had nominally formed part of the Cape Colony ever since Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the Orange the northern boundary, but in reality the wild people living in it were free of restraint and did not even know that after 1847 their position was changed. There were no magistrates' courts near them, and no policemen had ever been seen there except during Mr. Anthing's short visit. The principal Korana clans in the territory were under four captains, named Pofadder, Piet Rooy, Carel Ruyters, and Jan Kivido, who roamed about it and plundered anybody and everybody of cattle whenever an opportunity arose.

To put an end to this condition of affairs an act was passed by the Cape parliament in 1868, providing for the appointment of a magistrate with very large power in criminal cases, who was to have jurisdiction in those parts of the divisions of Namaqualand, Calvinia, Fraserburg, Victoria West, and Hopetown, more than twenty-five miles (forty kilometres) from the seats of the ordinary courts. By another act of the same date the governor was empowered to raise a small force of mounted police for the protection of the northern border. A commando was called out to clear the territory of marauders, and it was anticipated that when this was done order could easily be maintained. The commando, however, was unable to effect anything, as the Koranas avoided coming in contact with it.

On the 19th of October Mr. Maximilian James Jackson was appointed special magistrate, and as soon as a company

of fifty policemen could be enrolled he proceeded to Kenhart. There it became evident that the force at his disposal was insufficient to cope with the difficulties before it, and soon afterwards a hundred and fifty of the frontier armed and mounted police, under Commandant Currie, were sent to the disturbed territory. Mr. Jackson found a number of the aborigines in a starving condition near Kenhart. Of late years some individuals of this race had moved over the Orange into the Kalahari, others had joined the Korana marauders, many had perished, and the remainder, after the destruction of the game, were in a condition of extreme distress. Only one thing could be done with them, if they were not left to die of hunger or to be shot as thieves: they were sent to Calvinia, and were distributed with their own consent as servants among farmers who were willing to employ them.

In May 1869 the Korana clans under Piet Kooy and Jan Kivido fell upon a party of halfbreeds, whom they plundered, and then in cold blood murdered five of the men. Inspector William Wright with thirty of the northern border police and twenty halfbreed volunteers was then sent in pursuit, and on the 29th of the month overtook the marauders at De Tuin, about five hours ride on horseback from Kenhart. An action followed, in which the police were defeated, and it was with difficulty that they made their escape. On the following day, however, Sir Walter Currie with a hundred and fifty of the frontier armed and mounted police arrived at Kenhart.

There was a feud between Pofadder and Piet Rooy, so the former sided with the colonial force, and the other captains with their followers and the Bushmen who had joined them retired to the islands in the Orange river, which they regarded as impregnable strongholds. There, on the 7th of July they were attacked by the police, when in three engagements between fifty and sixty Koranas were killed, and fifteen waggons and carts, twenty-two horses, and a few oxen and goats were recovered, and a good many women

and children were captured, with a loss to the police of eight men wounded.

Unfortunately the health of Sir Walter Currie broke down under the strain of the severe exertion and exposure incidental to such warfare, and he was obliged to desist from pushing his success further. He engaged a force of burghers, halfbreeds, and Koranas of Pofadder's clan, two hundred in all, to keep the field, and with the frontier police returned to the Xosa border. There, after some months, as his health was completely shattered, he retired from the post he had so ably filled, and lingered on a mere wreck of what he had once been until June 1872, when he died. In May 1870 he was succeeded as commandant by Inspector James Henry Bowker.

Mr. Jackson, who was now made inspector of police as well as border magistrate, with the mixed commando and the northern border police, thirty-two horsemen and eighteen footmen when at its full strength, which was seldom the case, continued the operations against the marauders, and by following them up and allowing them no opportunity to gather spoil, he reduced them at length to a condition of extreme want. In November 1869 he succeeded in capturing Piet Rooy and Jan Kivido with some of their followers, and shortly afterwards a number of others voluntarily surrendered. These, one hundred and four men all told, were sent to Capetown to undergo their punishment on the breakwater works, and as many of the half-starved women and children — Korana and Bushman—as could be collected were forwarded to the nearest villages, where they went into service with farmers and others. The clans of Piet Rooy and Jan Kivido were completely broken up, and only Carel Ruyters with some of his band remained at large. The police force was now reduced to forty effective men, and the commando was disbanded, with the exception of thirty or forty halfbreeds, whose services were retained for a short time until order was established.

In November 1870 the government offered to give out farms or rather cattle runs in the territory from five to twenty thousand morgen in extent to approved applicants, to be held under military tenure, but the conditions were so onerous, and the number of armed men to be maintained on each farm was so large, that no one cared to accept the proposed grants. Matters remained fairly quiet until April 1871, when Inspector Jackson and the police having been sent to the diamond fields, a petty Korana captain named Klaas Lukas took advantage of the opportunity to commence a series of robberies. Upon the return of the police, however, tranquillity —or an approach to that condition of things—was again restored, and was maintained for some years.

In 1869 a general election took place, when the most prominent question before the colony was the necessity of reducing the public expenditure to the limit of the existing revenue, as it was held that further taxation could not be borne. For both houses strong majorities were returned pledged to do their utmost in this direction. Sir Philip Wodehouse, however, was of a different opinion. On the 24th of June parliament assembled, when in his opening speech he announced that the excess of expenditure over revenue during the preceding year amounted to £91,306, that retrenchment could not be carried further with any regard for the efficiency of the administration, and that additional taxation would be necessary.

On the 20th of July a government bill was introduced in the assembly for levying a tax of three pence in the pound on all incomes and property of the annual value of £50, to have effect for three years. The assembly was opposed to laying further burdens on the people, and here was a bill introduced for the levy of an impost in an exceedingly obnoxious form. The commonest objection to an income tax, that it places the few at the mercy of the many, was indeed removed by its proposed levy upon incomes as small as £50, but the inquisitorial nature of the impost was regarded as almost equally objectionable in a country

where morality needed to be fostered and no temptation be offered to mendacity. Under any circumstances such a tax would have been regarded as objectionable. On this occasion it was at once rejected, and the governor was requested to submit proposals for retrenchment of expense.

His Excellency thereupon drew up a scheme, which was submitted to the assembly on the 2nd of August. He proposed to substitute for the two existing houses of parliament a single legislative chamber, to consist of a president appointed by the crown, three official members, and twelve members elected for five years. The colony was to be divided into twelve electoral circles, six in the western province and six in the eastern, each of which was to return one member. The yearly saving by the adoption of this scheme he estimated at £11,000. A bill to this effect was introduced by the colonial secretary, and was read the first time.

He proposed further to abolish fourteen civil commissionerships, effecting a saving of £6,000 a year, various other offices, which would save £7,605 a year, and to withdraw all grants to agricultural societies, public libraries, museums, and botanical gardens, amounting to £4,000 a year. In all he thus proposed to effect a saving of £28,605 a year, by the virtual destruction of the parliament, the abolition of some of the most necessary public offices, and the withdrawal of assistance from those institutions that mark the difference between a barbarous and a civilised government.

On the 6th of August the colonial secretary moved the second reading of the so-called constitution amendment bill in the assembly. Mr. (later Sir) John Gordon Sprigg, who had just been elected a representative of East London, and who now made his first appearance in the Cape parliament, moved as an amendment that it be read that day six months. The opinion was generally expressed that an upper house was unnecessary, as there was ample provision against hasty legislation in the veto of the governor and of the imperial authorities, and for this reason a number of members were

willing to allow the bill to pass the second reading and to alter it in committee by increasing very largely the proposed representative element; but the great majority, under the leadership of Mr. (later Sir) John Charles Molteno, one of the members for Beaufort West, would have nothing to do with it. It was therefore thrown out by thirty-nine votes against twenty-two.

On the 16th of August Mr. Molteno brought forward a resolution, which was carried and transmitted to the governor, to the effect that the civil establishment had overgrown the necessities of the colony, that the salaries of the governor and the heads of departments were too large, and that there should be a general reduction of all salaries and a weeding out of unnecessary officials. To this his Excellency replied, declining the responsibility of such retrenchment and throwing it upon parliament, that could reduce the estimates submitted to it in any manner and to any extent that it chose, and pass bills concerning the salaries fixed by the constitution ordinance.

This caused a serious difficulty, as it was impossible for members of parliament to judge of the usefulness of every office and the merits of every official as well as the administrative authorities could, but as government would not perform the task, Mr. Molteno and those who supported him were obliged to take it in hand. In the meantime, on the 24th of August, Mr. Probart brought on a motion, "that in the opinion of this house the constitution of the legislature of this colony is needlessly cumbrous and costly, and that a legislative council, to consist of not less than thirty-three or more than sixty-six members, would meet all the requirements of the colony and would be better adapted than the existing two chambers to its means and circumstances." This, when put to the test on the following day, was rejected by thirty-four votes to twenty-four.

On the 7th of September the retrenchment proposals of Mr. Molteno, reducing the administrative staff in number and the salaries of every official from the governor down-

ward, were carried in the assembly, and on the 11th were transmitted to his Excellency.

On the 14th the governor caused new taxing bills to be laid before the house. He proposed to levy an excise duty of one shilling and six pence a gallon (4·54346 litres) on all spirits distilled in the colony, a duty of two per cent on the interest of all money invested in shares or mortgages, a duty of one and a half per cent on the value of all produce exported, and a duty of five shillings to twenty shillings on every house according to its value. Thereupon the assembly declined to impose any new taxes until the governor would indicate what retrenchment he was willing to effect, and this he refused to do.

Mr. Molteno then proposed to raise the ad valorem duties on imports not specially rated from ten to twelve and a half per cent, and as the governor would not introduce a bill to this effect, the house of assembly passed one, which was, however, thrown out by the legislative council.

At this stage the estimates for the first three months of 1870 were introduced by the government, and were referred by the assembly to a select committee. On the 15th of October the committee reported that the estimates were not in accordance with the resolutions of the house, and they had therefore altered them.

This brought matters to a crisis, and on the 18th of October the governor prorogued the parliament and issued a proclamation dissolving the house of assembly and appealing to the country to decide upon the future form of government. It was necessary, he said, either to increase the power of the executive, which he regarded as the proper course, or to adopt responsible government, which he believed would be most injudicious.

He followed this up by publishing, on the 12th of November, the draft of a bill to amend the constitution. It substituted for the two existing houses of parliament a single legislative council, to consist of a nominated president, four official members to be selected by the governor, and thirty-

two elected members, sixteen for each province. The existing electoral divisions were to be retained, except that Piketberg was to be joined to Malmesbury. The members were to hold their seats for five years.

The question for the colonists to decide by their votes was thus apparently a simple one, but in reality it was complicated by the dissension between the eastern and western provinces, for many of the electors in the eastern districts, though favourably disposed towards self government, were willing to increase the power of the executive rather than subject themselves to a ministry formed by a western parliamentary majority.

During the session of 1869 an act was passed authorising the Cape Copper Mining Company to construct a jetty at Port Nolloth and a railway from that port to Onams at the foot of the mountain range bounding the coast plain. This was intended to facilitate the transport of copper ore over the heavy sand flat between the mountains and the sea, a distance of seventy-seven kilometres or forty-eight miles. In 1871 the company was authorised to extend the line nineteen kilometres or twelve miles farther, winding up the mountain side to the mission station Kookfontein. And in 1873 a further extension of sixty-one kilometres or thirty-eight miles was authorised, making the inland terminus Ookiep, the principal copper mine in the country. The gauge of this railway is only seventy-six centimetres or thirty inches, and some of the gradients in the mountain section are very high, one place being as steep as one in twenty. Its use is almost entirely confined to the transport of ore to the sea and of provisions and other necessaries from Port Nolloth to the mines.

In 1869 several disasters occurred in the colony. In February a portion of the districts of Knysna, Humansdorp, and Uitenhage was laid waste by a very destructive fire. The country was parched by drought, when a hot wind set in from the north and continued for some days. The dry brushwood commenced to burn in several places simul-

taneously, and the fire spread rapidly over an extensive belt of country, destroying houses, orchards, and even live stock as it advanced. The Knysna village was only saved by a sudden change of the wind, which coming over the burning district, was as scorchingly hot as the air from a heated furnace. Great damage was done to the forests, which were previously supposed to be proof against a conflagration of this kind.

In October there were heavy floods in the midland districts, by which much loss was caused, especially in the highly cultivated valley of Oudtshoorn. At the town of Beaufort West the great dam which forms a miniature lake, and was then the most important work of its kind in the colony, burst, and the water swept away several houses and stores.

Algoa Bay, though exposed to southeast winds which sometimes blow with the force of gales, had never been the scene of such terribly disastrous shipwrecks as those which have been recorded as occurring during winter storms in Table Bay, but it was not free from occasional losses. On Sunday the 16th of October 1859 six ships were driven ashore there in a storm that during the next ten years was commonly spoken of as the great gale. In 1869 there was another and larger disaster. On Saturday the 18th of September in this year thirteen sea-going vessels were lying at anchor in the roadstead, when a gale of unusual violence arose. Night set in, and the wind increased in strength, while before it the sea was driven in great billows upon the shore. Before dawn one after another ten of the vessels parted their cables and were cast on the beach, though happily all on board escaped with their lives. On Sunday morning the *Sea Snake* parted and struck. A crowd of people gathered as near as they could get, but her position was such that it was impossible to render assistance, and nine of her crew were drowned in the attempt to reach dry land. A steam tug, twelve cargo boats, and two anchor boats were also driven on shore and broken to pieces. Two

only of the sea-going vessels rode out the gale. In the town some damage was done, particularly to the roofs of buildings, but this was not very great, and it was speedily repaired.

The governor's proposal of a retrogressive change in the constitution found no support whatever in the greater part of the colony. Hardly anyone was willing to increase the power of the executive, but there were many who favoured the reduction of parliament to a single chamber by doing away with the legislative council, which they regarded as of little practical use. The interest taken in the elections was keen, and no fewer than twenty-two of the late members lost their seats and were replaced by others.

On the 25th of January parliament was opened by the governor with a speech in which he read portions of a despatch from the secretary of state for the colonies, giving the view of the imperial authorities upon the situation. Earl Granville wrote:

"It becomes necessary, therefore, to bring the executive government and the representative legislature into harmony, either by strengthening the influence of the government over the legislature, or by strengthening the influence of the legislature over the government. But although I have been anxious to give you every opportunity of giving effect to your own views, I have never concurred with you in anticipating that you would be able to frame and carry through the Cape parliament a measure which would give to the government, as at present constituted, such powers as the necessities of the case require. And if the government cannot by some such measure be enabled to command the coöperation of the legislature, it remains that the legislature should be enabled to ensure the coöperation of the government, that is that responsible government should be established in that as in other colonies of equal importance. I have considered the difficulties you point out as likely to arise when such a change is made. But if the colonists will not allow themselves to be governed,—and I am far from blaming them for desiring to manage their own affairs, or from questioning their capacity to do so, which is seldom rightly estimated till it is tried,—it follows that they must adopt the responsibility of governing.

"The policy, therefore, which I shall enjoin on your successor will be that of pointing out to the colonists that in one way or another a change in their constitution is inevitable, and of explaining to them that her Majesty's government look upon the present constitution as an inadequate

and transitional one, which, as they are unable to administer it effectually, they are only content to administer at the desire of the colonists, and until a decision is arrived at as to what change should take place. If the colony shall be ready to repose greater trust than heretofore in the crown and its servants, and to confide to them a larger and more effectual authority, it will be the first endeavour of the new governor to devise such a plan for that purpose as shall be acceptable to the present legislature. If, on the contrary, the colonists shall prefer to assume the responsibility of managing their own affairs, it will be his duty to consider with them, in a spirit of cordial coöperation, the means by which this may be safely and justly effected; what shape the new system of self-government should assume—whether of a single undivided colony, or of a colony divided into semi-independent provinces, or of two or more distinct colonies—is a question which the colonists will no doubt maturely consider, and in which I should wish to be guided by their deliberate conclusions. At present, I think it is undesirable even to indicate an opinion upon it."

The governor stated his own objections to responsible government, as unsuited to a dependency, and particularly to one with such scanty resources and such a divided population as the Cape Colony; and he therefore submitted the bill that he had published, in the hope that it would be adopted. In view of the reduction of the imperial garrison, he recommended an enlargement of the frontier armed and mounted police. He announced that the strictest economy had been observed in preparing the estimates and that retrenchment had been carried as far as could be done with safety, but that there was still a large deficit in the revenue, and that therefore further taxation could not be avoided.

On the 21st of February Mr. Southey, the colonial secretary, moved the second reading of the bill for altering the constitution. Mr. Philip Watermeyer, one of the members for Richmond, thereupon moved, and Mr. Reitz seconded, that it be read that day six months.

An animated debate followed, which proved that hardly anyone favoured the bill as it stood. There were many members, however, who were prepared to dispense with the legislative council, and who were willing to vote for the second reading, with the intention of altering the bill in

committee by rejecting the official element and increasing the number of elected members. The majority, led by Mr. Molteno, objected to this, on the ground that by doing so the principle of the bill, that is the increasing the power of the executive government and diminishing that of the parliament, would be approved. The debate was continued until the 24th, when the bill was thrown out by thirty-four votes against twenty-six.

Those against it altogether were Messrs. Adams, Botha, Bowker, P. A. Brand, van Breda, Burger, Duckitt, Gush, Human, Keyter, Louw, Meiring, Molteno, Moodie, Pearson, Pentz, Porter, Prince, Proctor, Reitz, van Rhyn, Scanlen, Scheepers, Shawe, Slater, Solomon, D. Tennant, J. H. Tennant, Theunissen, Versfeld, de Villiers, Watermeyer, J. A. de Wet, and Ziervogel.

Those who voted for the second reading, and who were either prepared to accept the bill as it stood or wished to amend it in committee, were Messrs. Ayliff, Barrington, J. H. Brown, G. Brown, van der Byl, Clough, Darnell, Distin, Eustace, Foster, Goold, Hemming, King, Knight, Loxton, Manuel, Merriman, Quin, Rice, Rorke, Smith, Stigant, Thompson, J. P. de Wet, Wollaston, and Wright. Of these, eighteen members represented eastern province and eight western province constituencies.

An attempt of the government to place a number of offices on the reserved schedules, and thus to remove the salaries attached to them from parliamentary control, met with such determined opposition that it had to be abandoned. Several taxing bills were introduced, but most of them were thrown out. It was admitted by parliament, however, that an increase of revenue was necessary, for the deficit could no longer be made good by loans. A house duty act was therefore passed, under which five shillings a year was to be paid on every house under the value of £100, ten shillings on every house from £100 to £500 in value, twenty shillings on every house from £500 to £1,000 in value, and ten shillings additional for every £500 or fraction of £500

above £1,000. This act was to be in force for three years. The stamp act was also amended to make it more productive.

The public debt of the colony payable in England at this time amounted to £1,423,400, which had been contracted for the following purposes: improvement of Table Bay £250,000, of Port Alfred £76,500, of Port Elizabeth £58,500, of Mossel Bay £8,000, for immigration £75,000, and to meet deficiencies of revenue £955,400. Provision was made for paying £50,000 of this at once, and an act was passed to consolidate the remainder. The interest was fixed at five per cent per annum, and an amount of £90,000 minus the interest was to be redeemed yearly, so that the whole should be paid off in thirty-seven years.

On the 5th of May parliament was prorogued, and on the 20th of the same month the connection of Sir Philip Wodehouse with South Africa came to an end. He sailed in the mail steamer *Briton* for England, unregretted by the colonists as a governor, on account of his want of tact and opposition to the spirit of the time, though respected as an upright and benevolent man. Of the usual addresses presented to a governor at the close of his administration but one was handed to him—from the bishop and clergy of the English episcopal church, — as people did not wish to express sentiments that they did not feel. Some time after his return to England he was appointed governor of Bombay, and on the 2nd of May 1872 assumed duty there. For an Indian administrator he was admirably adapted, and in that capacity he remained until 1877, when at the age of sixty-six years he retired from public life.

Upon his departure from the Cape, Lieutenant-General Charles Craufurd Hay, who since the 25th of January 1869 had held a commission as lieutenant-governor, assumed the duty of administrator of the government, and was shortly afterwards appointed high commissioner also. The most important event during the seven months that he was at the head of affairs was the dispute with the government of the Orange Free State concerning the claim of Mr. David Arnot,

in the name of the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, to the ownership of the territory in which diamonds had been discovered, and where many thousands of diggers were then seeking for wealth, which is fully related in another chapter.

The fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers of 1820 was celebrated in Grahamstown with great heartiness. Tuesday the 24th of May being the queen's birthday, and Thursday the 26th being ascension day, were public holidays. Monday the 23rd and Wednesday the 25th were added by proclamation, so that the jubilee might be observed in as becoming a manner as the importance of the event commemorated deserved to be. These settlers, what difficulties had they not overcome during those fifty years in building up the prosperity of their part of the eastern province! They had passed through three wars with the Xosas and Tembus, in each of which a large portion of Albany had been laid waste, they had experienced all the vicissitudes of farming life in South Africa,—droughts, floods, blights, cattle diseases, and other evils, were familiar to them,—and yet at the end of half a century they could say with pride that no other body of men and women of equal number had ever left the shores of England and prospered more than they. There were processions, and feasts, and thanksgiving services in the many churches they had built, and a very creditable show of the products of Albany and the handiwork of Grahamstown.

A memorial tower, for which £1,400 was subscribed and paid to a committee, was also planned, and the foundation stone was laid with much ceremony by the honourable Robert Godlonton. The work of construction, however, was not carried out for several years. In 1877 the municipal council resolved to build a handsome town hall, at a cost of £17,000, and it was arranged that the memorial tower should form part of the design. The building—including the tower — was completed in 1881, and contains the municipal offices, a large hall used for lectures, concerts,

and public meetings, the public library, which occupies nearly half the building, and a fine art gallery.

The docks in Table Bay were so far advanced that they could be used by shipping, and on the 17th of May 1870 they were opened by proclamation without any ceremony. On the 21st of June the *Galatea* arrived in Simon's Bay from Ceylon, and the duke of Edinburgh,* who commanded her, was requested to open them formally. This he did on the 11th of July with the observances customary on such occasions, when they were officially named the Alfred docks. On the 14th of July the *Galatea* left for Australia.

In the session of 1869 provision was made by parliament for the purchase by the government of the property of the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company, and the transfer of the works at Port Alfred. This was done as the only means of preserving the piers partly constructed and of completing them, for the company had been obliged to cease its operations through want of funds. The government had already contributed £76,500 towards the work. In 1868 Sir John Coode was requested to furnish plans for the improvement of the ports of East London, the Kowie, and Algoa Bay, and he had sent Mr. Neate, a marine engineer, to survey those places. Mr. Neate arrived in November 1868, and at once commenced his work, so that in April 1870 plans and estimates for the construction of harbours at the three places named were received from Sir John Coode. The government paid the debts of the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company, amounting to £25,000, and in return received transfer of all its rights. On the 1st of July 1870 the company was dissolved by proclamation, and the harbour works at Port Alfred became the property of the colony. Since that date large sums of money have been expended upon them, but the depth of water on the bar has not been so much increased as to admit of the

* This was the fourth visit of his royal highness to South Africa. The third occasion was in December 1868, when he was here for a few days in the *Galatea*.

entrance of vessels of heavy burden, and the port is now practically abandoned.

For some time past experiments had been made in the cultivation of silk, flax, and cotton, and it had been confidently anticipated by many persons that the last of these articles would soon become a prominent item in the list of colonial exports.

The production of silk was tried in both provinces, but particularly at Stellenbosch. Excellent samples were obtained, but it was found that the worms often died off suddenly, and the returns were so small compared with the care and labour required that the experiments were soon abandoned.

In favourable seasons flax was found to thrive well in particular localities in the east, and several fields promised an excellent return. But it could not be depended upon in general, and in small quantities it could not find purchasers. It too was therefore abandoned after a fair trial.

Cotton was tried by many of the enterprising farmers of the south-eastern districts. In some localities it grew luxuriantly, though the bolls did not always attain maturity. In 1867 two hundred and eighteen kilogrammes or four hundred and eighty pounds were exported, in 1868 four hundred and ninety-five kilogrammes or one thousand and ninety-two pounds, in 1869 six hundred and eighty-one kilogrammes or one thousand five hundred and one pounds, in 1870 eight hundred and seventy-five kilogrammes or one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight pounds, and in 1871 eleven thousand three hundred and thirty-five kilogrammes or twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds. Some was also used in the colony for various purposes. In a show of cotton in King-Williamstown in 1871 one hundred and sixty bales were exhibited, which contained thirty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one kilogrammes or seventy thousand pounds. In a show at the same place in 1872 ninety-one bales, containing fifteen thousand and fifty kilogrammes or thirty-three thousand one hundred and eighty-one pounds of unginned cotton, were exhibited. It was sold by

auction, and realised from 2¼d. to 2⅝d. a pound. In Grahamstown at the same time (August 1872) one hundred and seventy-two bales, containing thirty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-eight kilogrammes or eighty-four thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds, were exhibited. This was grown chiefly in the districts of Albany and Peddie, and thirty bales of it were ginned.

But the price of cotton at that time was so low in England that it could only have paid colonial farmers to produce it under the most favourable circumstances, and labourers were almost unobtainable, owing to the high rate of wages at the diamond fields. In the picking season the blacks were not to be depended upon, no matter what pay was offered, and in some instances crops were entirely, or almost entirely, lost. The planters became discouraged, and shortly the attempt to grow cotton for exportation ceased.

A change in the seasons had now set in, and after the long years of drought, varied occasionally by destructive storms of wind and rain, the upper terraces were once more clothed with verdure. The benefit to the country was enormous, for not only could crops be put in the ground, but the emaciated animals that remained alive soon became fat and thriving. If the change in the appearance of the grazing districts was astonishing, not less so was the change in the spirits of those who depended for their living upon horned cattle and sheep. To them the alteration in the seasons turned despondency into cheerfulness, to an extent that can only be realised in a country where long drought makes the ground like iron and the sky like brass.

CHAPTER LXXII.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 31ST OF DECEMBER 1870.

SIR PHILIP WODEHOUSE'S successor was a man of no greater natural ability, but he was in sympathy with the aspirations of the majority of the colonists, who favoured self-government, and consequently he was more popular and more successful. He had been governor of British Guiana, Jamaica, Victoria, and Mauritius, and was therefore a man of wide experience. On the 31st of December 1870 he arrived in the mail steamer *Norseman*, with his lady and a daughter, and at once took the oaths of office.

A wave of prosperity resulting from the discovery of diamonds in great numbers and the change for the better in the seasons had already commenced to set in, so that the people were less discontented and less prone to faultfinding than they had been in previous years. The revenue was increasing rapidly, and not only was retrenchment of expenditure no longer regarded as imperative, but large public works could be taken in hand.

As soon as arrangements could be made, the governor left Capetown for a long tour, in which he visited the diamond fields, Bloemfontein, and Basutoland, passed through Aliwal North, Burghersdorp, and Queenstown, to King-Williamstown, and then through Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth on his return. He reached Capetown again in time to open parliament on the 27th of April 1871 with a speech in which the cheering information was given that the revenue of 1870 had exceeded the expenditure by £35,518.

After referring to the condition of the diamond fields, Basutoland, and the Transkeian territories, and recommending measures for the prevention of cattle stealing by the Xosas within the colony, the governor made the following remarks upon the political question of the day:

"I could not but observe with regret, during my progress through the eastern portion of the colony, the existence of a deep-rooted feeling that their special interests were not likely to receive due consideration so long as the seat of government remained fixed at Capetown.

"This feeling, as you are aware, found fresh vent a few months since in a memorial addressed to the earl of Kimberley, as secretary of state for the colonial department, praying that I might be instructed on my arrival to give the subject of the removal of the seat of government to some place in the eastern districts my immediate and impartial consideration.*

"Accordingly, in the despatch addressed to me by his Lordship before I started, calling my attention to some of the prominent questions with which I should have to deal, this subject is adverted to, and a suggestion thrown out that in order to obviate all ground of agitation for such removal, the local authorities should be invested with a greater share of legislative and administrative power; the carefully considered constitution of the Dominion of Canada being referred to as presenting a model for the solution of the difficulty.

"The reference thus made must be held to imply not merely a recommendation that the colony should be divided into federated provinces, but that some system of responsible government should be established in each, for it will be found from the despatch itself, which I lay before you in extenso, that the present secretary of state for the colonies fully adopts the views expressed by his predecessor, Earl Granville, as to the anomalous constitution of the colonial legislature, and considers the rejection of the proposal made by Sir Philip Wodehouse last session for a single legislative chamber as affording all the stronger reason why those who refused to acquiesce in that measure should now support the alternative course.

"The attempt to introduce a certain modicum only of parliamentary government into this colony seems indeed to be regarded on all hands as a failure. The experiment has now been tried for nearly seventeen years, during the existence of nearly five different parliaments, and under the auspices of two administrators of remarkable energy and ability, yet of widely different temperaments; and it has been found, so far as I can judge, to work inharmoniously and unsatisfactorily, alike to the governing and to the governed.

* The memorial referred to was signed by eight hundred British settlers and their descendants.

"Be this as it may, it is clearly necessary at the present moment, if a progressive policy is to be pursued, that the executive government should be endowed with more extensive powers and greater liberty of action; and if the question, whether this should be accomplished by retracing the steps taken in 1854, and restoring the authority of the crown, has been definitely decided in the negative, it is not easy to perceive what other feasible course remains open save to carry the system of parliamentary government to its natural and legitimate consequences, by rendering the executive responsible through the medium of its principal officers to the legislature, and thus enabling it, so long as these retain the confidence of that body, to shape the course of public business, and act promptly and efficiently whenever the necessity arises, in anticipation of subsequent approval.

"As to the formation of separate provincial governments, this might be advantageous if combined with a strong domestic administration centrally situated in South Africa, but it is obvious that no such system of federal union could be maintained unless each of the states composing it were equally independent of extraneous control. In other words, self-government should precede federation; and not for this reason only, but to prevent the difficulties and risks of failure which any attempt to carry out simultaneously two such great political changes would inevitably entail.

"As a matter of fact it has had priority in the case both of the North American and Australian colonies; nor should it be forgotten here, in connection with the former, that Upper and Lower Canada, differing widely as their respective populations have ever done in race, language, and mode of thought, grew up into a strong and prosperous state, ruled for the most part by coalition ministries long before they lately resolved themselves in separate provinces with a view to admission into the powerful confederacy which now constitutes the dominion.

"You may rely upon it, however, that in recommending the application of principles under which these great groups of colonies have made and are making such wonderful and gratifying progress, the imperial government are neither insensible to the obstacles which seem likely to beset the operation of those principles here, nor desirous of driving the Cape colonists into the adoption of institutions for the successful working of which they feel themselves unfitted.

"If any amendment on the present unsatisfactory mode of administration better adapted to the peculiar circumstances of South Africa than responsible government can be devised, or if there be any intermediate stage in their progress towards that form of government at which the colonists would wish for a time to halt, I am confident that whatever doubts her Majesty's present advisers might entertain as to the probable results of the scheme, no opposition whatever would be offered to its receiving a fair trial.

"It rests, in fact, with the colonists alone at the present juncture to judge for themselves what reforms in the constitution shall be effected;

and I will only add that I await the upshot of your deliberations as their representatives, fully prepared to afford any assistance in my power in carrying out the views at which the majority may see fit to arrive."

The opinions expressed in the paragraphs quoted above were those of the governor himself, and were at variance with those held by the members of the executive council, all of whom were opposed to the introduction of responsible government. On learning the nature of the speech intended to be made, they drew up their objections in writing, with a view to the documents being forwarded to the imperial authorities.

The attorney-general, Mr. W. D. Griffith, based his first objection upon the large coloured population, who were entitled to the franchise, and some of whom actually availed themselves of it under the instigation of persons of European race. That as a general rule they had not made use of their privileges could not, he thought, be reckoned on as a fact likely to continue. If government by parliamentary majorities were introduced, they would very soon be taught by interested persons that they were entitled to the franchise, and their votes would be obtained for one purpose or another. When they once began generally to use their votes, it would simply be impossible to govern them.

His next objection arose from the condition of the white population, which he divided into two main classes, the English immigrants and their descendants and those of Dutch descent. The latter, who were in a large majority, were for the most part ignorant of the English language, and entertained strong prejudices against English institutions. He might have added, but he did not, that the prejudices of the former class in the opposite direction were at least equally as strong. No alteration of the franchise, he observed correctly, could meet the difficulties created by these circumstances.

Then the colony was sparsely inhabited, and its people were for the most part uneducated. As a consequence, there

would be a scramble for office among a very few individuals who would embrace politics as a trade, for there were practically no men in the colony of leisure and independence.

The constitution of the two houses of parliament formed another objection, for one was as representative as the other, and neither had control over the other. In which was to be the necessary majority to maintain a ministry, and what would result if an opposing majority should exist in the other.

The condition of the diamond fields and of Basutoland was also to be considered. If the diamond fields were to be annexed to the Cape Colony, that should be effected before a change in the form of government took place, in order that the people there might also have a voice in deciding the matter. The Basuto had requested to be brought under the queen's government, not under that of a colonial ministry, and such a change as the one proposed would excite great dissatisfaction in their minds, and would not improbably be the cause of future wars.

The other members of the executive council, Mr. R. Southey, colonial secretary, Mr. J. C. Davidson, treasurer-general, Mr. E. M. Cole, auditor-general, and Mr. R. Graham, collector of customs, drew up jointly a document in which they expressed their opinions. They regarded any failure that had occurred in the working of the existing form of government as referable in great part to circumstances which might be specified as applying much more strongly to the proposed form of government by parliamentary majority, such as the sparseness of the population, the preponderance of the coloured races, want of education, diversities of race and language among the white inhabitants, want of public opinion, difficulties of communication, and inability of the best informed and most competent colonists to leave their homes and avocations to take part in public affairs without ruin to their private interests.

They held that one cause of the unsatisfactory working of the existing form of government was undoubtedly the

want of sufficient influence by the executive upon the representative branches of the legislature. They referred to some of the disadvantages under which the executive had laboured in this respect. There were two houses, of coördinate authority, to both of which every measure had to be submitted through all its stages, precisely as in the imperial legislature. Their modes and forms of procedure had in all respects been closely copied from those of the imperial parliament. They were assembled, and sat simultaneously through protracted sessions. It had come to be expected that the four members of the executive who possessed the privilege of attending the houses, but were never in any sense intended to be members, should, at least some of them, give constant attendance in both houses, and not only conduct the measures of the government, but deal with the numerous objections and questions, and discuss the measures introduced by the members themselves. Ministerial and parliamentary functions had thus become imposed upon three or four members of the colonial executive, in addition to their ordinary and constant administrative duties, without any provision for meeting them.

Harmonious action between the parliament and the executive, in the conduct of the public business and legislation, had undoubtedly been impeded of late years by the insufficiency of the revenue to meet needful expenditure, and the contentions naturally springing from the necessary measures for increase of taxation which the government had from time to time been compelled to propose. It might, however, now be hoped that the returning prosperity of the colony and the increasing public revenue would remove this prolific cause of painful discussion and difference.

The provision made for the representation of the executive having been so far short of the test now applied, they thought it could scarcely be held that the possibilities of satisfactory government under the existing constitution had been exhausted, or that they had even had a fair trial; for it could not be doubted that if government by parliamentary

majority were introduced, one of its first necessities would be a considerable numerical increase to the executive, both in and out of parliament, and the introduction of departmental responsibility. This was equally practicable with the existing form of government, and was in their opinion essential to the successful working of any form of representative government.

They observed that the direction in which measures should be taken to overcome or remove the deficiencies which seventeen years of not altogether unsuccessful working of the existing constitution had disclosed could not be gathered from the previous action of the legislature; for while, on the one hand, it had on one occasion declined to adopt the simple form of legislature proposed by Sir Philip Wodehouse, it had equally, on the other hand, on several occasions declined to adopt the principle of government by parliamentary majority. But they submitted that, whatever the opinions or action of either house of parliament from time to time might have been or might still be on this question, the colonial legislature was not, in the actual circumstances of the country, the tribunal by which such an issue should be decided; and that the question should be considered and acted upon by her Majesty's government upon its own responsibility in reference to the fitness or unfitness of the colony for so momentous a change.

They then entered into details concerning the sparseness of the population; the numerical preponderance of the coloured people, showing that fully two-thirds of the inhabitants were still in a state of barbarism or semi-barbarism, pointing out the danger of these people becoming masters of the situation owing to the low qualification for the franchise—the occupation of fixed property of the total (not annual) value of £25;—the want of education; the diversity of race, ideas, habits, and language of the European inhabitants; the feelings of antagonism between the white and coloured people, particularly in the frontier districts; the absence of public opinion, which would lead to instability

of legislation and policy; the want of men possessing the requisite qualifications to hold offices in a responsible ministry; and the existence of two elective houses of coördinate functions and authority, in both of which the majority essential to the existence of a ministry would seldom be found.

They submitted that the facts and considerations they had adduced showed that the colony was wholly unfit for the proposed change in its form of government; and further, that the dangers to be apprehended from the premature attempt thus to get rid of very minor difficulties attending the working of the constitution then in force were too momentous to be risked upon the decision of the existing legislature.

They deprecated any change which would reduce the influence of the crown in the colony, which they regarded as the chief bond by which its heterogeneous elements were held together. To surrender this restraining influence would, they believed, lead to disturbance and strife of races within and without the colony, annihilate English interests, and looking upon the colony as the chief standpoint for the spread of peace and progress in South Africa, would hopelessly throw back the civilisation of a large area of the continent.

Holding these views, the members of the executive council who were entitled to take part in debates in parliament considered it their duty not to oppose the governor, but to abstain from joining in discussions that might arise respecting responsible government, and to leave the decision to the unbiassed votes of the elected representatives of the people.

The party in the house of assembly that was in favour of the introduction of responsible government waited until all the eastern members had arrived before taking any action. They were tolerably certain of success, especially as no opposition was now to be feared from the imperial authorities, and they desired a thorough discussion of the question on its own merits. On the 1st of June Mr. Molteno, member for

Beaufort West, moved, and Mr. Watermeyer, member for Richmond, seconded:

"That this house is of opinion that the time has come when the system of parliamentary government in this colony should be carried to its natural and legitimate consequence, by rendering the executive responsible, through the medium of its principal officers, to the legislature, and thus enabling it, so long as these retain the confidence of that body, to shape the course of public business. And as it may be expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs, formed into a federative union, under a general government, for the management of affairs affecting the interests and relations of the united colony, this house is of opinion that his Excellency the governor should be requested, by respectful address, to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the expediency of such provincial governments, with the federation thereof, and, if deemed expedient, to inquire into and report upon the arrangements which may be necessary for their introduction and establishment."

In this motion two distinct subjects were referred to. One, the introduction of responsible government, was to have immediate effect, the other, the desirability of federation, was merely to be inquired into and reported upon, with a view to the possible adoption of the system at some future time. The word federation was then commonly used to signify the union for general purposes of several provinces with local legislatures into which the settlement was first to be divided, not the union under one central government of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, unless those colonies and states were specially mentioned. Such a change in the form of government of the Cape Colony was advocated almost exclusively by the descendants of the British settlers in the eastern province; the later English immigrants and practically the whole of the Dutch speaking colonists either caring little about it one way or the other or opposing it on the ground of the increased expense that it would necessarily entail. The position which the descendants of the British settlers of 1820 had attained in the colony can therefore be accurately gauged by the importance attached to this question.

As an amendment to Mr. Molteno's motion, Mr. C. A. Smith, member for King-Williamstown, proposed, and Mr. J. T. Eustace, member for Capetown, seconded:

"1. That this house, without disputing the principle that responsible or party government is the natural consequent of representative institutions, cannot shut its eyes to the fact that there exists, especially in the eastern province, a strong feeling of opposition to its immediate introduction into this colony.

"2. That in the opinion of this house, it is but just and expedient, under the peculiar circumstances of this colony, that before effecting so important and radical a change in the constitution, a competent commission, fairly representing the entire colony, should be appointed to consider and report upon this question in all its bearings, and especially whether it would not be practicable and more consistent with the wants and wishes of a large portion of the inhabitants of the colony, that some system of federative and local government should precede, or at least be simultaneous with, the introduction of responsible government.

"3. That this house, therefore, by respectful address, request that his Excellency the governor will be pleased to appoint such a commission, with an instruction to terminate its labours in time to enable action to be taken on its report during the next session of parliament."

The debate upon the question of the introduction of responsible government was carried on with much earnestness on both sides, all the old objections being urged again by the opponents of the measure and replied to by those in favour of it.

There was first the important question of the coloured population, which was double that of the European residents in the colony. These people were entitled to the franchise on the same terms as white men, and most of them were absolute barbarians without any conception of what representative government implied. They would be made the sport of party leaders, and anything like justice or high civilisation would become impossible. Or, if this should not happen, the attempt to rule them by white men with strong prejudices must result in war.

To this it was replied that the blacks would be no more subject to party influence than they were already, and that colonists, whose interest it was to avoid war, would be far

more likely to govern them wisely and justly than officials responsible only to the authorities in England.

Next, there was not a sufficient number of men in the colony of talent and wealth to form ministries under a system where tenure of office would be precarious.

Reply. That could not be known until it was tried. The occasion would probably produce the men, and in any case they would soon be trained, which they could not be in advance.

Of the European electors there were many more of Dutch than of English descent. Would the British settlers consent to be ruled by a ministry chosen by a Dutch majority?

Reply. All were colonists, and the interests of all were the same. There was nothing to fear from a Dutch majority, and it was hardly conceivable that any question should arise in which the electors would be divided on purely racial lines. Would the British settlers object to party government if they were in the majority and the Dutch in the minority? Responsible government would be the means of bringing them closely together and causing them to respect each other and work in unison for the common good.

The eastern province, having fewer representatives and being far from the seat of government, would be at the mercy of the west.

Reply. No ministry in which the east was not fairly represented could exist over a single session.

Responsible government would be accompanied by corruption and plunder. A ministry in office would not hesitate to purchase support to retain its position.

Reply. There was no greater likelihood of corruption of that kind under responsible government than under the existing system, and at any rate the ministers, holding their seats as long as a majority in parliament chose to support them, would be careful not to expose themselves to be called to account for their conduct.

The arrangement of matters relating to the Bantu in the Transkeian territory and in Basutoland had been carried out

by the high commissioner under instructions from the imperial authorities, without reference to the colonial parliament, and Great Britain was thus responsible for the defence of the frontier. If responsible government was adopted, that burden would to a certainty be thrown upon the colony.

Reply. Whether responsible government was adopted, or whether the existing system remained in force, would make no difference whatever in that respect. The imperial troops in South Africa had already been greatly reduced in number, and there was no hope of their being increased again. In any case the colony would have to protect its frontiers, and it was therefore better that the policy to be pursued towards the Bantu in future should be directed by those upon whom the burden of defence would fall.

Lastly, the provinces should first be separated and each provided with a local government, when a federal administration for general purposes might be adopted under the responsible system.

Reply. Responsible government should first be adopted, and then the question of separation into two, three, or more provinces, to be followed by federation, could be more satisfactorily settled.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. C. Scanlen, one of the members for Cradock, brought forward a motion "that it is expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs," but it was rejected.

Mr. Smith's amendment was then put, and was lost by thirty-two votes against twenty-five.

Mr. Molteno's original motion was carried on the 9th of June by thirty-one votes against twenty-six, twelve eastern province members voting with the majority. The last clause had, however, been modified in the hope of conciliating the eastern members, and now read: "And as it is expedient that the colony should be divided into three or more provincial governments for the management of their own domestic affairs, formed into a federative union under a

general government for the management of affairs affecting the interest and relations of the united colony, this house is of opinion that his Excellency the governor should be requested, by respectful address, to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the arrangements which may be necessary for the introduction and establishment of such provincial governments, with the federation thereof."

On the following day the governor was requested to submit a bill to effect the necessary change in the constitution, which he consented to do without any delay. Mr. Griffith, the attorney-general, expressed a desire that he should not be called upon to frame the bill, as he disapproved of the measure, so the governor applied to Mr. Porter, the retired attorney-general, who was then one of the members for Capetown. That gentleman drew up a bill, which was introduced in the house of assembly and read the first time on the 15th of June. It provided for the creation of two new heads of departments, one to be termed the commissioner of crown lands and public works, the other the secretary for native affairs. The colonial secretary, the treasurer, the attorney-general, the commissioner of crown lands and public works, and the secretary for native affairs could be elected as members of either the house of assembly or the legislative council, and could take part in debates in both houses, but each could only vote in the one of which he was a member. It was not to be absolutely necessary that every one of these officials should be a member of parliament at the time of his appointment, a provision that was made in case there should not be in either house an individual specially qualified for any of the offices at the time of the formation of a ministry. The salaries of the ministers were fixed, that of the colonial secretary at £1,200, and that of each of the others at £1,000 a year. They were not to be entitled to pensions upon retiring from office.

On the 30th of June Mr. Molteno moved the second reading of the bill, and an animated debate followed, in

which the same arguments for and against were used as already given.

On the 5th of July the voting took place on an amendment that the bill be read that day six months. For this there were twenty-eight votes, and thirty-four were given against it. The division showed the responsible government party to be strongest comparatively in the midland districts, to be nearly twice as strong as its opponents in the west, and to be almost non-existent in the east. The western districts gave twenty-one votes for it, and eleven against, namely for responsible government Beaufort West, Malmesbury, Paarl, Piketberg, Victoria West, and Worcester, each both votes; Caledon, Clanwilliam, George, Oudtshoorn, Riversdale, each one vote for and one against, Capetown two votes for and two against, Stellenbosch one vote for, the other member for this division being the speaker, the Cape division two votes against, and Namaqualand one vote against, the other member for this division being absent.

The midland districts gave twelve votes for responsible government, and only two against, namely for responsible government Colesberg, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Richmond, and Somerset East, each both votes; Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, each one vote for and one against.

The eastern districts gave but one vote for responsible government, and fifteen against it, namely against responsible government Albany, Albert, Aliwal North, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, and Victoria East, each both votes; East London and Queenstown, each one vote, the other members for these divisions not being present; and King-Williamstown one vote against and one vote for it.

Mr. Molteno's motion was carried without a division, and the bill then passed into the committee stage, when the opponents of responsible government left the house, so that it went through at once without any alterations of importance. On the 12th of July it passed the third reading without a division, and on the 14th was read the first time in the legislative council. This house had not been dis-

solved by Sir Philip Wodehouse when he appealed to the colony to decide upon the form of government, and its members had not been specially returned on that issue.

The question was hotly debated, and on the 21st of July when the bill came on for the second reading it was thrown out by twelve votes against nine. Of the members in its favour, seven represented the western province—the honourable Messrs. John Barry, Dr. F. L. C. Biccard, J. A. van der Byl, G. J. de Korte, M. L. Neethling, J. Vintcent, and Dr. H. White,—and two the eastern province—the honourable Messrs. C. L. Stretch and F. K. Te Water. Of the twelve members opposed to it, eight represented the eastern province—the honourable Messrs. S. Cawood, J. C. Chase, W. Fleming, R. Godlonton, J. C. Hoole, D. K. Kennelly, P. W. Scholtz, and G. Wood,—and four the western province—the honourable Dr. J. M. Hiddingh, and Messrs. P. E. de Roubaix, W. A. J. de Smidt, and H. T. Vigne.

The rejection of the bill by the legislative council was learnt with regret by the secretary of state for the colonies, who wrote, however, that at the same time it was satisfactory that the measure had received so considerable an amount of support, and he did not doubt that before long responsible government would supersede the existing anomalous system.

In accordance with the request of the house of assembly, on the 24th of June the governor appointed a commission, consisting of the honourable Robert Godlonton, Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix, and John Centlivres Chase, members of the legislative council, and Messrs. Jeremias Frederik Ziervogel, John Charles Molteno, Charles Abercrombie Smith, and John Henry de Villiers, members of the house of assembly, to inquire into and report upon the question of federation, and in connection therewith:

"1. Whether the good government of the entire colony would not be facilitated, and the contentment and progress of certain portions thereof promoted, by its division into provinces, each province having its own legislature, to legislate for local and private purposes only.

"2. If so, into how many provinces should the colony be divided, and of which of the present electoral divisions, or parts of electoral divisions, or other territories, should each province consist?

"3. Whether the model presented by the dominion of Canada should be followed, the constitution of the colonial parliament and provincial legislatures, and their relative powers and functions, being in all respects the same as provided by the imperial act of 30th Victoria, cap. 3?

"4. If not, what the constitution of the provincial legislatures should be? Whether they should be composed of two chambers, or of one only? What the qualifications of electors and members respectively?

"5. Whether the colonial parliament should continue to be convenable as provided in the constitution ordinance of 1852, and at what towns or places the legislature of each province should meet?

"6. If the distribution of legislative powers set forth in the sixth part of the imperial act of 30th Victoria, cap. 3, be not followed, what subjects should be specially withdrawn from the legislative power of the provincial legislatures and reserved for the colonial parliament? Should the borrowing of money for the execution of public works within any particular province be on the credit of the colony or of the province, and what apportionment should be made of the debts or liabilities already incurred, both for public works as well as for general colonial purposes?

"7. Ought the colonial parliament to possess the power of rescinding or amending the acts of the provincial legislatures, especially such as it may consider to have been passed ultra vires?

"8. Whether it will be necessary that the crown should be represented in each province by some functionary resident therein? If so, what should be his powers and duties, and how should he be appointed and designated?

"9. Supposing such a functionary to be necessary, should he be assisted by a local executive council? If so, of whom should it be composed? And should its members be removable on losing the confidence of the provincial legislature under the system commonly called responsible government?

"10. Should the governor of the colony, acting with the advice of his executive council, have any, and if so, what power to direct the provincial executive to adopt any measure which he may regard as expedient for the general welfare? Or should such governor in council have power to rescind or amend such acts of the provincial executive as he may consider prejudicial to the colony at large?

"11. What would be the probable expenditure requisite for the support of each provincial government, stating the estimated items in detail?

"12. What would be the probable amount of revenue at the disposal of each provincial government?"

Mr. Molteno being obliged to resign on account of ill health, Mr. William Porter, formerly attorney-general and now member of the house of assembly for Capetown, was appointed in his stead. The commission issued circulars to all the divisional and municipal councils and to one hundred and sixty-eight prominent private individuals, requesting them to state their views; and they also took a good deal of verbal evidence. Only sixteen out of forty-seven divisional councils, three municipal councils out of thirty-two, and thirty-two out of the hundred and sixty-eight private individuals took the trouble to reply, showing that interest in the question, especially in the western districts, was by no means widespread; and the opinions given were most conflicting. The midland districts, that is the western part of the eastern province, in which—except at Port Elizabeth—Dutch speaking colonists were in the majority, objected strongly to any change that would bring them under a Grahamstown government, but were not unwilling to be formed into a distinct province themselves. King-Williamstown and East London also preferred to let things remain as they were rather than form part of a province with Grahamstown as its capital, Grahamstown objected to the midland districts being constituted a separate government, in short, the views and interests of every place in the east seemed opposed to the views and interests of every other place.

On the 23rd of March 1872 the commission sent in a report in which they stated that they were unable to agree among themselves or to reconcile the different views expressed; but the majority of the members proposed for consideration the draft of a bill by which the powers and functions of the existing parliament should be preserved intact, and that if divided into provinces at all, the colony should be divided into three, each with an assembly for the control of purely local matters. In that case each province should elect seven members of the legislative council, and the house of assembly should remain unchanged.

Very little interest was taken in the matter by the general public in the west, or even in the midland districts. The British settlers who had been warm advocates of it, in the hope that it would lead to the eastern province intact being constituted a separate government, finding it impossible to carry that measure, had no wish to press the subject further until a more favourable opportunity should occur. It was therefore allowed to pass out of notice in the shade of the important change that was then taking place.

In the session of parliament in 1871 a new district on the north-eastern border of the colony, formed of parts of the divisions of Aliwal North, Albert, and Queenstown, to which on the 5th of January the name Wodehouse had been given by proclamation, was constituted a fiscal division. A civil commissioner and resident magistrate was appointed, and was directed to hold his court at Dordrecht, a village founded in 1857.

An act was passed for raising by loan a sum of £100,000 at five per cent yearly interest, upon security of the colonial revenue, to improve the harbour of East London according to the plans of Sir John Coode, but not more than £15,000 was to be raised in any year. Wharfage dues were to be levied to reimburse the treasury wholly or partly for this expenditure. The design of the works was to narrow the mouth of the river by means of training walls, in order to increase the scouring force of the tide setting out and so to clear away the bar, and an outer breakwater was to be constructed to prevent the sand being thrown back again. While the survey by Mr. Neate was being made, there was a heavy fall of rain, which caused such a flood in the river that the bar was partly washed away, and it was evident that if the sand could be kept out a safe and commodious harbour, with a depth of water of twenty-five feet or 7·62 metres at low tide, would be open to shipping. In December 1871 a large gang of convicts commenced the lengthening of the training walls partly constructed years before, and under the direction and superintendence of Mr. Lester, a marine engineer sent

out by Sir John Coode, the work progressed until the harbour of East London became, what it is to-day, a place where sailing ships and large ocean steamers can discharge and take in cargo almost as securely and easily as in any dock in the world.

An act was also passed to incorporate a company that some merchants of Port Elizabeth proposed to form, with a capital of £75,000, to construct a line of railway and telegraph from Port Elizabeth to Uitenhage. The government reserved the right of constructing the first seven miles, or 11·3 kilometres, from Port Elizabeth to the Zwartkops river, as that section would form part of any trunk line that it might thereafter be decided to lay down towards the interior. The sum of £30,000 was voted by parliament for this purpose. On the 9th of January 1872 the first sod of the Uitenhage branch was turned by Sir Henry Barkly at Rawson bridge with the usual ceremony. It had been anticipated that Kaffir labourers could be obtained to perform the rough work at 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and on this basis the calculations as to cost were made, But it was found that such cheap labour was not to be had, and even when 2*s.* 3*d.* a day was offered the supply was insufficient. There was further much delay in obtaining materials from England, so that progress in both sections of the work was very slow. In 1874 parliament authorised the government to purchase the property of the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage railway company, and it was only after this date that the line was completed, though the event here recorded was the commencement of the laying down of that network of railways which now covers the eastern part of the Cape Colony.

On the 11th of August parliament was prorogued, when the governor in his closing speech expressed his regret that the bill to amend the constitution ordinance by removing all impediments to the system of responsible government was refused a second reading in the legislative council, for, irrespective of loss of time, other questions more or

less dependent on such a change remained unsettled in consequence of its postponement.

The most notable instance that ever occurred in the Cape Colony of damage caused by a sudden and violent fall of rain took place in this year 1871. At ten o'clock in the evening of the 27th of February most of the residents in the village of Victoria West, unsuspicious of danger of any kind, had retired to rest. The village, which stands twelve hundred and fifty metres or four thousand one hundred feet above the level of the sea, is built in a kloof, through which flows one of the feeders of the Ongars river, a tributary of the Orange. Suddenly the roar of rushing water was heard, and before the people in the lower part of the village could escape they were surrounded. A storm cloud had burst farther up the kloof, the stream had suddenly risen to a height unknown before, and was now rushing onward, sweeping not only light materials, but even huge boulders before it. The flood lasted until three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, and when it subsided, it was found that over thirty houses had been washed away and sixty-two persons had been drowned.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER (*continued*).

THE question as to the future form of government occupied the attention of the colonists during the recess between the sessions of parliament, and the advocates of the responsible system were steadily gaining ground. The time was particularly favourable for a calm discussion of the matter, as the colony was enjoying greater prosperity than it had known for many years, and so the distorted views that always accompany depression were far from prevalent. The British settlers and their descendants in the main were still holding out against the introduction of parliamentary government, not from disregard of the merits of that system, but simply because they feared the domination of the western people. The extreme conservative party in the west objected to it, because they feared changes of any kind. On the eastern border, in the midland districts, and generally in the west a large majority of the white people were now in favour of it. The blacks with very few exceptions had no opinion either way, for they were incapable of understanding what was meant by ministerial responsibility.

On the 18th of April 1872 parliament assembled, when the governor made an opening speech of great length, of which the following were the first clauses:

"So many questions of vital importance to the welfare of this colony urgently require solution that I have been led to seek at an earlier period than usual your advice and coöperation.

"Foremost amongst these questions, because at the very root of legislation on all the others, stands that of an amendment in the

defective and unsatisfactory relations established between the legislature and the executive government under the constitution act of 1854.

"When I invited you a year ago to decide, one way or the other, the long agitated question of constitutional reform, I had been too short a time in the colony to warrant the expression of any decided opinion of my own as to the direction such reform ought to take.

"I held it, indeed, for an axiom that where representative institutions exist, government by parliamentary majority is the only system under which the opposing currents of local interests and party prejudices can find their true level and run on in safe and proper channels; but I could not feel altogether free from doubt as to whether the crown had not been induced to act prematurely in granting the boon of representation to its South African subjects, and whether, consequently, its true policy at the present juncture might not be to endeavour to retrace the steps then taken, and regain, as far as possible, the authority with which it had parted.

"Now, however, that I have had opportunity for careful observation, I am bound to state my conviction that there is no ground for mistrusting the use that the Cape colonists would make of political power; while, on the other hand, were demonstration wanting of their due appreciation of political freedom, the well-sustained debates of last session, the able controversies which have been carried on in the columns of the colonial press, nay, the electioneering contests themselves to which the agitation of the question of reform has given rise, afford the strongest proofs of the thorough fitness of the colonists to be entrusted with the uncontrolled management of their own affairs. Experience elsewhere leads me further to believe that whatever special difficulties they may have to contend with in so doing will be diminished by the promptitude of decision and unity of action incident to responsible government, instead of being enhanced, as now, by the uncertainty under which the executive must labour as to the views either house of parliament will entertain on any given subject, as well as by the suspicions to which it is always exposed of favouring one side more than the other, or of availing itself of divisions to carry out a policy of its own.

"Even as regards the greatest difficulty of all, the remoteness of the seat of government, and the conflict of interests thereby created between the eastern and western districts, the jealousies engendered by which have for so many years impeded the construction of public works in both, and retarded in other ways the general prosperity of the colony, I cannot but think that the evenly balanced share which each would be soon found to command in the formation of any durable ministry, combined with the effects of a readjustment of representation, and the increased powers of local self-government, which would follow in the wake of the more important constitutional change, would, ere long,

put an end to struggles of this sort, or convert them into mere wholesome competition and harmless rivalry.

"On these grounds, and because I can perceive no chance of making progress with any other measure until this be settled, I shall at once reintroduce, as I am authorised and instructed by her Majesty's government to do, the bill to amend the constitution in certain respects which I transmitted to the assembly last session, in pursuance of an address presented to me by the house.

"With a view to avoid loss of valuable time, by limiting the issue to points already fully discussed, the bill will be sent down in the exact form it had assumed when thrown out on the motion for its second reading in the legislative council."

Accordingly, on the 22nd of April the bill was introduced in the house of assembly as a government measure, and was read the first time. The attorney-general, Mr. W. D. Griffith, was absent in Europe on leave, and Mr. Simeon Jacobs, the solicitor-general, was acting in his stead. On the 17th of May he moved the second reading of the bill.

Mr. J. T. Eustace moved, and Mr. C. A. Smith seconded, that it be read that day six months.

The debate that followed covered the same ground as in the preceding session, and was continued with great animation until the 28th, when the amendment was put to the vote and was lost by twenty-five against thirty-five. The original motion was carried by the same numbers reversed.

The majority in favour of responsible government consisted of twenty-two western province and thirteen eastern province members, namely

Mr. John Adams,	member for	Victoria West,	Western province
„ Rudolph P. Botha,	„	Cradock,	Eastern	„
„ Dirk van Breda,	„	Caledon,	Western	„
„ Andries G. H. van Breda,	„	Malmesbury,	„	„
„ James Buchanan,	„	Victoria West,	„	„
„ Robert M. Bowker,	„	Somerset East,	Eastern	„
„ Jacobus A. Burger,	„	Graaff-Reinet,	„	„
„ John S. Distin,	„	Colesberg,	„	„
„ Jacob Duckitt,	„	Malmesbury,	Western	„
„ Patrick Goold,	„	King-W'mstown,	Eastern	„
„ Johannes Z. Human,	„	Piketberg,	Western	„
„ Bernardus J. Keyter,	„	Oudtshoorn,	„	„
„ Pieter Kock,	„	Richmond,	Eastern	„

Mr. Johannes J. Meiring,	member for	Worcester,	Western	province,
„ John C. Molteno,	„	Beaufort West,	„	„
„ Hendrik L. Neethling,	„	Stellenbosch,	„	„
„ Henry W. Pearson,	„	Port Elizabeth,	Eastern	„
„ Petrus J. Pentz,	„	Paarl,	Western	„
„ William Porter,	„	Capetown,	„	„
„ John S. Prince,	„	Riversdale,	„	„
„ Johannes J. Proctor,	„	Paarl,	„	„
„ John Quin,	„	Fort Beaufort,	Eastern	„
„ Vincent Rice,	„	Beaufort West,	Western	„
„ Thomas C. Scanlen,	„	Cradock,	Eastern	„
„ Gideon J. H. Scheepers,	„	Oudtshoorn,	Western	„
„ Saul Solomon,	„	Capetown,	„	„
„ John G. Sprigg,	„	East London,	Eastern	„
„ David Tennant,	„	Piketberg,	Western	„
„ Robert Torbet,	„	Namaqualand,	„	„
„ Petrus B. van Rhyn,	„	Clanwilliam,	„	„
„ John H. de Villiers,	„	Worcester,	„	„
„ Philippus J. A. Watermeyer,	„	Richmond,	Eastern	„
„ Gotlieb W. B. Wehmeyer,	„	George,	Western	„
„ Jacobus A. de Wet,	„	Somerset East,	Eastern	„
„ Jeremias F. Ziervogel,	„	Graaff-Reinet,	„	„

The minority, or those opposed to the introduction of responsible government, consisted of sixteen easterns and nine westerns, namely

Mr. Reuben Ayliff,	member for	Uitenhage,	Eastern	province,
„ William Ayliff,	„	Fort Beaufort,	„	„
„ Henry F. A. Barrington,	„	George,	Western	„
„ Thomas D. Barry,	„	Riversdale,	„	„
„ William Bell,	„	Albert,	Eastern	„
„ Henry W. Bidwell,	„	Uitenhage,	„	„
„ Hendrik W. van Breda,	„	Caledon,	Western	„
„ George Brown,	„	Victoria East,	Eastern	„
„ George C. Clough,	„	Grahamstown,	„	„
„ John T. Eustace,	„	Capetown,	Western	„
„ Joseph Gush,	„	Albany,	Eastern	„
„ Thomas B. Glanville,	„	Grahamstown	„	„
„ Thomas A. King,	„	Victoria East,	„	„
„ William Knight,	„	Port Elizabeth,	„	„
„ Samuel Loxton,	„	Queenstown,	„	„
„ Charles J. Manuel,	„	Cape district,	Western	„
„ John X. Merriman,	„	Aliwal North,	Eastern	„
„ Thomas Moodie,	„	Swellendam,	Western	„
„ Joseph M. Orpen,	„	Queenstown,	Eastern	„

Mr. John R. Ross,	member for	Namaqualand,	Western province,
„ George Slater,	„	Albany,	Eastern „
„ Samuel Shawe,	„	Clanwilliam,	Western „
„ Charles A. Smith,	„	King-W'mstown,	Eastern „
„ Philip P. Stigant,	„	Capetown,	Western „
„ John S. Wright,	„	East London,	Eastern „

Only five members were absent from the house on this occasion, three easterns representing Albert, Aliwal North, and Colesberg, and two westerns representing the Cape district and Swellendam.

For a form of government that is preëminently English, eighteen Dutch speaking members and seventeen English speaking members voted, and against it were twenty-four English speaking and only one Dutch speaking member.

On the 3rd of June the bill was read the third time in the assembly, and was immediately sent to the council. During the recess pressure had been put upon two of the members — Dr. Hiddingh and Mr. P. E. de Roubaix — by many of their constituents, to induce them to change their opinions, and they were now wavering. Deputations from all parts of the province at this juncture waited upon them with the request that they would give their votes for the change. Petition after petition in favour of responsible government was addressed to the council, and though a few were sent in against it, they served only to show, as the elections for the assembly had done, that the great majority of the people of the western province who took any interest at all in politics were in favour of the proposed system. Dr. Hiddingh and Mr. De Roubaix therefore changed sides when on the 11th of June Mr. Jacobs moved that the bill be read the second time, and Mr. Wood, seconded by Mr. Vigne, moved that it be read that day six months.

For responsible government nine western and two eastern members voted, namely

The honourable	John Barry,	Western province,
„	Dr. François Louis Charles Biccard,	„
„	Johannes Albertus van der Byl,	„
„	Dr. Jonas Michiel Hiddingh,	„

The honourable	Gilles Johannes de Korte,	Western province,
„	Marthinus Laurentius Neethling,	„
„	Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix,	„
„	Joseph Vintcent,	„
„	Dr. Henry White,	„
„	Charles Lennox Stretch,	Eastern province,
„	Frans Karel Te Water,	„

Against responsible government eight eastern and two western members voted, namely

The honourable	Samuel Cawood,	Eastern province,
„	John Centlivres Chase,	„
„	Henry Bailey Christian,	„
„	Robert Godlonton,	„
„	James Cotterill Hoole,	„
„	Dennis Harper Kennelly,	„
„	Pieter Wouter Scholtz,	„
„	George Wood,	„
„	Willem Anne Janssens de Smidt,	Western province,
„	Henry Thomas Vigne,	„

When in committee the minority made a strong effort to defeat the bill, but unsuccessfully. On the 12th of June it was read the third time, and was then reserved by the governor for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure.

The eight eastern members who were in the minority did not even yet cease their opposition. On the 17th of June they presented to the governor a formal protest against the introduction of responsible government, with a request that it should be forwarded to her Majesty. The principal reasons which they assigned were:

"Because the western province has always had the advantage of a parliamentary majority in both houses of parliament, by means of which the eastern province has been coerced, and representative institutions in this colony have been rendered thereby unreal and illusory.

"Because, notwithstanding this perpetual majority in both houses of parliament, the eastern province members of the legislature have been subjected for eighteen years to great and serious disadvantages arising from their remoteness from the seat of government, and by the consequent loss and inconvenience of attending a parliament convened at a distance of from five hundred to eight hundred miles from their several homes.

"Because the eastern province, though labouring under these great disadvantages, contributes by far the largest amount to the general revenue of the colony, the latest complete official returns showing that for the year 1870 the contribution by the eastern province exceeded that by the western by the sum of £79,301, while its expenditure was £52,109 below that of the western province.

"Because the question of the policy of the government in respect to the native races in this country bears with undue pressure on the eastern province, the number being as two to one against the white population, while they have on their immediate border more than two hundred thousand souls, who have either been located or are recognised by the government, but over whom the eastern province has no control.

"Because repeated and strenuous endeavours have been made in parliament by eastern province members, either to obtain the removal of the seat of government to a more central locality, or the establishment of local government; but that such endeavours have been persistently defeated by the standing majority before mentioned.

"Because the eastern province has felt it an intolerable grievance that its inhabitants, while contributing the largest share of the public revenue, and while exposed to and suffering from their contiguity to large masses of barbarian natives, should be under the domination of Capetown, a large proportion of the parliamentary members for the western province being residents of that city."

In opposition to this protest Messrs. Stretch and Te Water, the other members of the legislative council for the eastern province, wrote to the governor that they entirely dissented from its contents, and were of the opinion that the introduction of party government would be to the interest of the whole eastern province. They pointed out that the existing mode of election of members of the council prevented the midland districts from returning as many members as they were entitled to, so that the public opinion of the whole province was not properly represented by those who signed the protest.

The statement that the eastern province contributed more to the general revenue than the western was also contradicted by many persons, and it was pointed out that the figures given by the protesting members were arrived at by including in eastern province revenue the customs duties and other charges on the whole of the goods that

passed through Port Elizabeth to the republics and diamond fields beyond the Orange river and even to many districts in the western province. If these amounts were deducted, it was shown that the eastern province revenue would be greatly below that of the west.

The eight objecting members next endeavoured to induce the council to pass a resolution in favour of the separation of the provinces into distinct colonies, and when that failed, they tried to press a resolution through recommending that the parliament should be summoned to meet in the east, which was likewise rejected.

The inequality of representation of the two provinces in the house of assembly was being rectified while the constitution amendment bill was in progress in the legislative council. On the 14th of June a bill, introduced by Mr. T. C. Scanlen, which constituted Wodehouse an electoral division with the right of returning two members, passed its second reading in the assembly. Now that responsible government was assured, the western members were not averse to increasing the voting power of the east, and this bill passed through all its stages in both houses and had effect from the next general election. There were at that time twenty thousand nine hundred and five registered electors in the western, and fourteen thousand four hundred and eighty-three in the eastern province.* In allotting thirty-four representatives to the latter as to the former, the principle was recognised that the disadvantages of distance from the seat of government gave a legitimate claim for compensation.

The inequality in the legislative council was not disturbed, because the constitution of that body was regarded as unsatisfactory by many persons, and an attempt was being made to effect a change in it. Owing to the mode of election, Capetown in the west and Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth in the east were able to return so many

* The registration of 1873 showed 21,406 electors in the western and 18,126 in the eastern province.

members that the country districts regarded themselves as practically disfranchised, though in a general election, by concentrating their votes, they could return a small number. As a remedy a resolution was at this time carried in the house of assembly:

"That in the opinion of this house a further amendment of the constitution ordinance is desirable, and that a division of the whole colony into five or more electoral circles for the purpose of electing the members of the legislative council would secure a more equal exercise of their franchise to the electors, and also a better distribution of representatives in that honourable branch of the legislature. That therefore his Excellency the governor be requested, by respectful address, to prepare a measure having this object to be submitted to parliament at its next session."

In accordance with this resolution, in the session of 1873 a bill was introduced to alter the mode of electing members of the legislative council by dividing the colony into seven circles instead of two provinces, each of which should return three members, to hold their seats for ten years. In the bill it was also proposed that the legislative council could be dissolved without the house of assembly as the house of assembly could be without the legislative council, or that both could be dissolved together. This proposal was very popular in the rural districts, but naturally met with less favour in the towns. The bill was carried in the house of assembly by a majority of thirty-five to sixteen, but was rejected by the council by the casting vote of the president. The members who opposed it spoke of it almost with indignation, as an act of political suicide, and especially as a proposal for the reform of one branch of the legislature made by the other.

In 1874, however, an act was passed by which the colony was divided into seven electoral provinces, each of which was entitled to return three members to the legislative council, to hold their seats for seven years. Under this act the council could not be dissolved unless the house of assembly was dissolved at the same time. At a general election each elector could distribute his three votes or give

all to one individual, as he might choose, thus providing for the representation of minorities. This act made the legislative council much more representative of the colony as a whole than it was before, and not the least of its good effects was the annulling of the old unnatural division into two provinces, one of which contained within itself elements of permanent discord.

Meanwhile, after the passing of the responsible government act and before its approval by the queen, an agitation was carried on in those parts of the eastern province occupied by the British settlers, in favour of separation from the west and a local government. The old separation league was revived, and great meetings were held in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, at which the question was represented as one of the utmost importance. But it soon became evident that separation could not be carried out. In the districts that had once formed British Kaffraria public opinion was decidedly against it, and a border league was created purposely to oppose it. The people there called to mind the efforts made by the Grahamstown party to annex them to the Cape Colony against their will, and they declared they would never consent to be governed by that party. The people of the northern and western parts of the province, though less demonstrative, were almost as strongly opposed to breaking up the colony, so that the scheme had to be abandoned.

In the session of 1872, in addition to the act introducing responsible government, various important measures were passed.

The imperial government had offered to contribute towards the construction of a graving dock within the enclosed harbour in Table Bay, and it was now resolved to commence the work, for which purpose parliament authorised the government to raise a loan of £30,000 at five per cent yearly interest. The negotiations with the imperial government fell through, however, and nothing was done in the matter until four years later, when the colonial government

undertook the work at its sole charge, and carried it to completion in 1882.

It was resolved to commence the construction of railways on a large scale, and as a preliminary step the purchase of the existing line from Capetown to Wellington from the company that owned it was authorised. The price was arranged at £780,000, which was to be paid in debentures bearing interest at the rate of four and a half per cent per annum, and a sinking fund was provided for their redemption. The purchase was thereupon made, and on the first of January 1873 the line with all the station houses, rolling stock, and other materials connected with it became the property of the colonial government.

It was intended to continue this line to Worcester by way of the Tulbagh kloof, where the earthworks had been nearly completed by order of Sir Philip Wodehouse, and also to construct a line from the Zwartkops to the Bushman's river. Acts were passed authorising the government to take possession of the ground necessary, and the sum of £40,000 was voted towards the cost of the former and £100,000 towards that of the latter, but it was only in 1873 that full legal authority for the construction of these lines and the raising of the requisite loan for the purpose was given.

A survey for a line of railway from East London to Queenstown, with a branch to King-Williamstown, was also authorised.

The new railways were to have a gauge of only forty-two inches or not quite a hundred and seven centimetres. They could be made at less cost than if the gauge was fifty-six inches and a half or a hundred and forty-three centimetres, as in the Capetown and Wellington line, and it was believed that they would answer all the purposes required nearly as well. The forty-two inches became from that time the standard gauge, and all the lines that now cover Africa south of the Zambesi have been constructed on it.

It was further resolved to purchase the existing line of telegraph from the company that owned it, and the govern-

ment was authorised to raise a loan of £45,000 at five per cent yearly interest for that purpose and £25,000 additional for the construction of a line from Fort Beaufort towards the diamond fields. It took some time to arrange the purchase, and it was only on the 1st of July 1873 that the line from Capetown to King-Williamstown became the property of the colonial government.

Every year of late a bill was brought before parliament for withdrawing grants for the salaries of clergymen of various churches, except to the existing recipients. Mr. Saul Solomon introduced it regularly, except in 1869, when Mr. William Porter brought it on. In that year it was defeated in the house of assembly by seven votes, in 1870 it was defeated in the same house by two votes, in 1871 it was passed in the assembly by a majority of three votes, but was thrown out by the council, and in 1872 the majority in the assembly rose to eleven, but the council again rejected it by a majority of four. It was thus growing in favour, and in 1875 it was passed by both houses, and became the law of the colony.

On the 31st of July, after the most eventful session in its history, parliament was prorogued.

A petition to the queen praying that her Majesty would withhold her consent to the constitution ordinance amendment bill until an appeal to the constituencies of the colony had been made was forwarded by the governor with the bill itself from nine members of the legislative council and the twenty-five members of the house of assembly who had opposed its passage through parliament. A similar petition from the chairman of a public meeting in Grahamstown also accompanied it. On the other side, an address signed by two members of the legislative council for the eastern province and twelve members of the house of assembly for eastern divisions was forwarded, in which it was asserted that "the people of that large portion of the eastern districts which they more especially represented, but who, under the system of election for the legislative council, could

not be represented in that council by a sufficient number of members of their own choice in proportion to their numbers, wealth, and standing in the colony, had long anxiously desired to have that system of government introduced; that they, in concurrence with the feelings of their constituents, and from their own convictions, had strenuously supported the bill in its passage through both houses of parliament; and that they, as well as their constituents, would feel greatly disappointed and aggrieved if any proceedings by the minority of the members of either house of parliament or other persons should succeed in preventing the confirmation of the bill by her Majesty."

As the introduction of responsible government was in accordance with the desire of the imperial authorities, and was also favoured by the governor, the protests against it were unsuccessful, and on the 9th of August Earl Kimberley forwarded an order in council in which the constitution ordinance amendment act was approved by her Majesty the queen. The arrangements necessary for making the change occupied some time after the receipt of the order, and on the 28th of November the act was promulgated by proclamation.

Mr. Southey was requested to form a ministry, but declined, on the ground that he would be unable to obtain sufficient parliamentary support. Mr. William Porter was next invited, but he also desired to be excused, as he was of advanced age and in feeble health. Mr. Molteno was then applied to, and on the 29th of November the names of the gentlemen whom he recommended, and who were approved by the governor, were published in the *Gazette*. They were Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Charles Molteno, member of the house of assembly for Beaufort West, prime minister and colonial secretary, Dr. Henry White, member of the legislative council for the western province, treasurer of the colony, Advocate (afterwards Sir) John Henry de Villiers, member of the house of assembly for Worcester, attorney-general, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Abercrombie

Smith, member of the house of assembly for King-Williamstown, commissioner of crown lands and public works, and Mr. Charles Brownlee secretary for native affairs. The last office had been offered to Mr. T. B. Glanville, member of the house of assembly for Grahamstown, but his business arrangements would not permit his acceptance of it. Mr. Brownlee was then civil commissioner of King-Williamstown, but he consented to retire from that post and to enter the ministry. He was admitted by every one to be the most competent man in the colony to deal with the Bantu. There was a vacancy in the representation of the division of Albert in the house of assembly, as Mr. F. H. Hopley, one of the members, had been absent without leave during the whole of the preceding session. Mr. Brownlee was now put forward and returned, and on the 27th of February 1873 was gazetted as member for Albert.

The first responsible ministry entered into office on the 2nd of December 1872. Two of its members were from the eastern province, and every succeeding ministry to the present day has contained more than that number, so that the fear of western domination expressed by some of the eastern people in 1872 was perfectly groundless. While this is being written a ministry is in office, every member of which represents an eastern constituency, and there is not a single Dutch speaking individual in it; but no one now attaches importance to the locality for which a minister has been returned, so thoroughly have the old territorial distinctions been obliterated. As soon as the act was ratified by her Majesty, in all parts of the colony the people accepted the new form of government as established, and prepared to act in political matters in accordance with its principles.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Southey, the retired colonial secretary, received an appointment at the diamond fields, Mr. W. D. Griffith, the retired attorney-general, and Mr. J. C. Davidson, the retired treasurer-general, were awarded pensions, the former of £650, the latter of £700 a year.

With the introduction of responsible government the Cape Colony came into line with the other great self-ruling sections of the British empire, and for good or for evil its future destinies were in the hands of its own people.

In 1872 there were still two battalions of imperial troops —the 75th and the 86th,—and a wing of the 32nd, in South Africa. In May 1867 the second battalion of the 5th left for England, and was replaced by the second battalion of the 20th.* About the same time the first battalion of the 10th * and the 67th *. left, and were replaced only by the second battalion of the 11th.* In July 1869 the 99th left for England, and was replaced by the 32nd. In June 1870 the second battalion of the 11th left for England and the second battalion of the 20th for Mauritius. In May 1867 a wing of the 86th arrived in South Africa from Gibraltar on the way to Mauritius, and was detained at Port Elizabeth until December, when it proceeded to its destination. The remainder of the regiment arrived in October 1868, and was detained here owing to the prevalence of fever at Mauritius. In July 1870 the wing that had gone to that island returned, and was stationed in the Cape peninsula. In August 1870 the first battalion of the 9th left for England, and in January 1871 a wing of the 2nd battalion of the 20th returned from Mauritius, and remained here until December, when it left for England. In October 1871 a wing of the 32nd left for Mauritius, and the 75th arrived, when one wing was stationed in Natal and the other in King-Williamstown. A wing of the 32nd remained on the eastern frontier.

Thus within five years the imperial troops in South Africa were reduced from five battalions of infantry to two battalions and a half. Besides these a few artillerymen and engineers remained in the colony. This reduction was less than that indicated by the secretary of state in 1867,

*I have been unable to ascertain the exact date of the arrival of the 2nd 11th and 2nd 20th regiments or of the departure of the 1st 10th and 67th regiments.

but it was much regretted by the frontier colonists. In January 1870 the British settlers sent a strong petition to the queen against further removal of troops, and in April of the same year the house of assembly forwarded a similar memorial. The secretary of state in reply promised to give the colony time to make arrangements for its own defence, but held out no hope that British soldiers would be kept in South Africa much longer, except to protect Natal and in the Cape peninsula for imperial purposes.

The Cape Mounted Rifles were disbanded in 1870. On the 4th of June in that year the standards of the regiment were carried by Colonel Knight and some other officers of the disbanded corps to St. George's cathedral in Capetown, and were suspended therein after a religious service.

The colony maintained for the defence of its eastern border a most efficient force of light cavalry, the frontier armed and mounted police, then numbering twenty-one officers, thirty-five non-commissioned officers, and five hundred and twenty-seven privates. There were four hundred and ninety volunteers in the various towns, and the burghers generally were liable to be called to arms for defensive purposes.

Education was making fair progress. There were one hundred and sixty-six public schools in the towns and villages, attended by European children, and three hundred and forty-six mission schools, attended by coloured children, receiving aid from the government. Forty-six thousand two hundred and forty-five children were attending these schools at the close of the year.

Under the mail contract the Union Company was bound to send steamships from Southampton to Table Bay and back again twice in every month, the time allowed for a passage being thirty-seven days. But already there was a powerful rival line in existence, and the Castle Steamship Company, under the energetic management of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Donald Currie, was also sending steamers each way fortnightly, so that practically there was a weekly mail

from and to England. The Union Company's steamer *Danube* had made the run out in twenty-five days, and a still shorter passage had been made by the rival company's steamer *Walmer Castle*, of two thousand five hundred tons burden, which arrived in Table Bay twenty-four days and six hours after leaving England. The Union Company's fleet consisted of nine ocean steamers from a thousand and fifty-five to two thousand tons burden, a coaster of seven hundred and twenty-four tons, and a reserve ship.

The need of a safe harbour at the mouth of the Buffalo river was once more shown by the wreck of a number of vessels there on Sunday the 26th of May 1872. At five o'clock in the morning the steamer *Quanza*, of nearly a thousand tons burden, partly laden with wool for England, snapped her cables, and was driven ashore on the eastern side of the mouth. It had been blowing a gale all night, but she had neglected to get up steam, and was helpless when her cables parted. An hour later she was followed by the brig *Sharp*, which struck on the same side of the river. At half past eight the barque *Queen of May* parted, and was carried high up on the rocky shore on the western side of the mouth. At ten o'clock the brig *Elaine* struck on the eastern side, and was followed to the same shore a little later by the brig *Martha*, at noon by the brig *Emma*, and at half past two in the afternoon by the barque *Refuge*. Only two lives were lost, but much property was destroyed, as the *Sharp*, the *Martha*, and the *Refuge* were full of inward cargo, and the *Queen of May*, the *Elaine*, and the *Emma* were only partly discharged. The roadstead was cleared of shipping.

On Monday morning a wreck was seen on the coast about seven miles or eleven kilometres to the eastward, and the harbour master, Captain George Walker, immediately left with a lifeboat on a waggon to try to render assistance. On arriving opposite the wreck it was found that she had struck on a reef far out, and that it was impossible to get to her with the boat. On Tuesday the German coasting

steamer *Bismarck* came down from Natal, and on Wednesday morning took Captain Walker and the lifeboat from East London to the wreck, which was found to be the *Jane Davies*, a ship of eight hundred and forty-six tons burden, from Rangoon bound to Liverpool, with a cargo of rice and cotton. The gale had by this time abated, but the sea was still breaking over the wreck, so that it was difficult for the lifeboat to get alongside. This was at last managed, however, when eighteen men and the captain's wife and little son were rescued. They had been lashed to the rigging since seven o'clock on Sunday evening, when the ship struck, and were then half dead from hunger and exposure. Five sailors had tried to get ashore with cork buoys, and four had succeeded, but the other perished.

The imports and exports of the colony from 1868 to 1872, the revenue for the same years, and the items of expenditure in 1871 and 1872 are shown in the following tables.

Imports and Exports of the Cape Colony.

Imports.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Port Elizabeth	£916,915	£1,050,041	£1,184,492	£1,457,204	£2,339,503
Capetown	806,183	764,077	910,412	898,904	1,410,584
East London...	53,157	23,009	52,052	96,595	300,342
Mossel Bay ...	54,915	43,369	41,615	47,289	81,563
Port Alfred ...	30,049	35,037	30,143	23,799	69,293
Simonstown ...	18,456	17,758	18,571	17,691	9,204
Port Beaufort	3,915	344	222	3,391	37
	£1,883,590	£1,933,635	£2,237,507	£2,544,873	£4,210,526
Exports.					
Pt. Elizabeth	£1,553,603	£1,457,981	£1,858,185	£2,262,704	£3,137,400
Capetown ...	388,110	462,829	448,066	945,381	1,188,023
East London	112,460	27,899	33,169	69,234	142,343
Mossel Bay	36,285	68,774	51,316	68,689	93,833
Port Alfred	116,106	121,896	58,276	49,933	101,191
Simonstown	648	310	3,833	11,889	3,281
Port Beaufort	8,669	0	923	805	0
	£2,215,881	£2,139,689	£2,453,768	£3,408,635	£4,666,071

Exports of the Cape Colony.

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Wool.....	£1,806,459	£1,602,528	£1,669,518	£2,191,233	£3,275,150
Hides, skins, and horns.	158,149	199,936	236,100	300,914	379,197
Copper ore ...	60,985	114,031	146,368	160,956	328,458
Ostrich feathers	57,725	70,003	87,074	150,499	158,024
Grain, flour, &c.	20,412	11,034	33,241	53,838	41,947
Dried fish ...	20,670	21,267	25,976	25,367	17,408
Preserved fruit	24,424	10,135	6,509	12,271	7,188
Wine.....	13,549	18,905	14,741	11,016	15,246
Horses.....	7,450	5,627	6,043	5,521	3,200
Ivory.....	7,510	13,002	13,746	9,201	23,976
Aloes.....	3,784	2,770	2,715	2,367	3,221
Argol.....	980	1,586	1,541	2,941	3,633
Diamonds.....	...	...	...	403,349	306,041
Mohair	...	...	...	43,059	58,457
Other S. African produce.....	33,784	68,865	210,196	36,103	44,925
Total.....	£2,215,881	£2,139,689	£2,453,768	£3,408,635	£4,666,071

Revenue of the Cape Colony.

	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.
Customs duties	£283,024	£295,662	£341,994	£384,808	£604,413
Stamps and licenses	60,112	60,862	65,464	67,602	76,739
Land revenue.....	49,382	57,507	65,969	80,687	104,280
Transfer dues	40,804	39,123	35,239	35,667	52,540
Postage.....	28,430	25,479	26,480	28,398	32,441
Fines and fees.....	16,779	15,472	17,301	15,040	17,000
Auction duty	11,637	11,167	12,301	12,054	17,489
Bank notes duty.....	4,029	3,300	3,248	4,130	7,984
Succession duty	3,433	6,389	4,776	4,067	6,969
House tax.....	...	...	10,028	31,426	23,119
	£497,630	£514,961	£582,800	£663,879	£942,974
Land sales	36,367	18,385	43,995	16,332	44,061
Rents	153	1,051	1,014	1,296	1,840
Sale of government property	458	992	1,014	866	628
Reimbursements.....	22,403	14,301	27,150	25,672	28,229
Miscellaneous	322	274	131	204	82
Interest and premiums	5,778	2,988	4,104	3,083	3,629
Special	2,445	5,235	1,186	23,330	18,443
	£595,556	£558,187	£661,394	£734,662	£1,039,886

Expenditure of the Cape Colony.

	1871.	1872.
Interest - - - -	£109,422	£106,318
Border department - -	70,905	80,686
Civil - - - -	47,674	49,154
Judicial - - - -	49,445	47,567
Police and prisons - -	36,341	39,123
Revenue department - -	31,305	30,022
Works and buildings - -	23,623	28,975
Conveyance of mails - -	29,384	28,632
Convicts - - - -	28,091	22,281
Education - - - -	20,972	21,876
Pensions - - - -	24,550	20,888
Hospitals - - - -	27,263	19,707
Ecclesiastical - - -	15,489	15,376
Roads and bridges - -	13,251	15,244
Parliamentary - - -	12,039	14,286
Medical - - - -	11,251	11,340
Colonial military allowance -	10,000	10,000
Transport - - - -	8,099	7,072
Rent - - - -	6,417	5,769
Other - - - -	137,940	76,252
	£713,461	£650,568

In 1872 £259,900 of the public debt was paid from the revenue.

Note.—The diamonds shown as exported were only those entered at the customs, a far larger quantity went out of the country without its being possible to trace either their number or value.

LIBRARY OF THE

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL.*

Transkei and Tembuland.

THE Transkeian territory was no longer of the value that it had been when a large portion of it was unoccupied and might have been used for European settlement, but as the burden of defence now rested chiefly on the Cape Colony, it became necessary to adopt measures for the prevention of the continual strife among the Bantu tribes there, and this resulted in bringing them all under direct control, as the only means by which this result could be attained.

The Fingos living in the territory given to them by Sir Philip Wodehouse and the mixed clans in the district of Idutywa were the first that were dealt with. Under Captain Blyth's able management the Fingos were making great strides in prosperity, and order was well maintained among them. They had already laid a tax upon themselves of £1,500 towards the establishment of an industrial institution in connection with the mission of the free church of Scotland, which amount they subsequently increased to £4,500. In 1874 they and the people of Idutywa of their own free will began to pay a hut tax of ten shillings a year.

* This chapter and the three following have been adapted from papers prepared by me for the use of the Cape government, and published in bluebooks of 1885 and later years. The events described as ordinary occurrences in the life of Bantu under independent tribal government are already becoming features of a past time, of a condition that is disappearing under colonial rule.

The ministry then brought before the Cape parliament the question of the annexation to the colony of Fingoland and Idutywa, and in the session of 1875 a resolution declaring the advisability of this measure was adopted by both houses. In the following year letters patent were issued by her Majesty, authorising the governor to proclaim those districts annexed to the colony after an act for that purpose should be passed. In the session of 1877 the Cape parliament passed the act required, but it was not until the 1st of October 1879 that it was brought into effect by the governor's proclamation.

The district which was restored to Kreli in 1864, and thereafter termed Galekaland, was not annexed to the colony. By their own desire the Galekas remained independent, and the colonial officer stationed with them merely performed duties similar to those of a consul, without interfering with their government. In May 1873 Mr. William Fynn was succeeded as resident with Kreli by Mr. James Ayliff. Mr. Ayliff was transferred to Fingoland as successor to Captain Blyth in March 1876, and in November of that year Colonel J. T. Eustace assumed the duty, the clerk, Mr. West Fynn, having acted as resident during the interval.

At the time when Colonel Eustace became resident with Kreli there was a general feeling of uneasiness throughout the frontier districts of the Cape Colony. The Xosas had been arming, and their tone and bearing indicated that a collision was probable at no distant date. Kreli at that time had some twelve thousand warriors at his command, without counting those of the kindred clans west of the Kei. Maki, his former chief counsellor, a moderate and sensible man whose weight was always on the side of peace, had been accused of being a sorcerer, and had been compelled to flee to Idutywa for safety. His place was then filled by Ngubo, commander of the Galeka army and a near relative of the chief, whose strongest feeling was one of bitter hostility to the white man. The tribe had increased until the territory,

which in 1864 was ample for its requirements, was now too small; and jealous eyes were cast over the Fingo border. One circumstance which weakened the Galekas, however, was the very bad feeling that then existed between Kreli and his cousin Mapasa, a chief of high rank and considerable power. Mapasa was the great son of Buku, who was son and heir of the right hand house of Kawuta. In such a condition of affairs, the least rumour, however unfounded, is capable of causing alarm among a people so unprotected as the frontier colonists then were. The panic of 1876 indeed passed away, but a general sense of insecurity remained.

On the 3rd of August 1877 there was a marriage party at a Fingo kraal just within the border, and two petty Galeka chiefs, by name Umxoli and Fihla, with a small party of attendants crossed over to partake in the festivities. On such occasions custom demands that every one who attends is to be made welcome. In the evening, when all were excited with dancing and beer drinking, a quarrel arose, no one was afterwards able to tell exactly how or why. At any rate the Galekas were ranged on one side and the Fingos on the other, and they used their sticks so freely that one Galeka was killed and the two chiefs were badly bruised. The visitors were then driven over the border.

Three days later four large parties of Galekas, who had in the meantime mustered with the intention of avenging the insult offered to their friends, crossed into Fingoland, and swept off the stock belonging to several kraals along the line. Mr. Ayliff, the Fingo agent, and Colonel Eustace, the resident with Kreli, endeavoured to prevent the disturbance spreading, but the excitement on both sides was now so great that all were deaf to reason. The raids of the Galekas being continued, detachments of the frontier armed and mounted police were sent to protect the Fingos, Colonel Griffith, then governor's agent in Basutoland, was hastily summoned to take command of the colonial forces, and volunteers were called to the front. The first battalion of the 24th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn,

was disposed at different defensive posts on the western side of the Kei, to prevent a raid into the colony. Governor Sir Bartle Frere proceeded to Butterworth, and endeavoured, but without success, to induce Kreli to visit him and come to some amicable arrangement. The chief professed that he was afraid to meet the governor.

On the 23rd of September, on account of Kreli's plain declaration that he could not restrain his people, all attempts at negotiation were abandoned, and Colonel Eustace withdrew to the police station at Ibeka. To this time the Galekas had constantly asserted that they were making war upon the Fingos only, but on the 26th an army five thousand strong crossed the border and attacked the police under Inspector Chalmers at Guadana. Mr. Chalmers had eighty Europeans and fifteen hundred Fingos with him. The carriage of his only field-piece broke down, when the Fingos dispersed, and he was obliged to retire to Ibeka. A sub-inspector and six privates fell in this action. On the 29th and again on the 30th the police camp at Ibeka, where Colonel Griffith was then in command, was attacked by a Galeka army variously estimated from six to ten thousand strong. After severe fighting, the assailants were beaten off with heavy loss.

By this time volunteers were arriving from different parts of the colony, and in the first week of October Colonel Griffith found himself in command of five hundred and eighty police, six hundred and twenty volunteer cavalry, and three hundred and seventy volunteer infantry. On the 3rd of October Major Elliot arrived with a contingent of Gangelizwe's Tembus. A large Fingo force under Mr. Ayliff was also in the field.

The chief Mapasa had in the meantime abandoned the Galeka cause and sought protection from the colonial government. A portion of his clan followed him, but many of his best warriors, led by his nephew Kiva, joined Kreli's army. Those who adhered to Mapasa were sent to some vacant land west of the Kei, where it was found that

they numbered four thousand three hundred and fifteen individuals of all ages.

On the 9th of October the Galekas were defeated by Colonel Griffith in an engagement at Kreli's kraal, and on the same day the Kaffrarian volunteers under Commandant Grey were successful in an engagement at the Springs. On the 22nd the battle of Lusizi was fought and won by the colonial forces, and by the end of the month the Galekas were driven over the Bashee. In the engagements mentioned here and in several skirmishes they had lost seven hundred men killed. Thirteen thousand head of horned cattle, together with a good many horses, sheep, and goats, had been captured by the colonial forces. The Galeka army was pursued into Pondoland, and then, as it was believed that Kreli's power was completely broken, Colonel Griffith returned to Ibeka, where most of the volunteers were disbanded and the police went into quarters.

On the 5th of October 1877, while military operations were being carried on, a proclamation was issued by Governor Sir Bartle Frere, in which Kreli was deposed from all power and authority as a chief. His country was taken from him and reserved for disposal as her Majesty should direct, and, pending instructions from the imperial authorities, it was to be ruled directly by officers appointed by the government of the Cape Colony. This proclamation was approved of by the secretary of state for the colonies in a despatch of the 14th of November following, and was the basis upon which the administration of Galekaland for several years rested.

It was soon made evident that the volunteers had been too hastily disbanded. The Galekas, though they had suffered severe losses, were by no means disheartened, and having placed their women, children, and cattle in safety, they returned to renew the war. On the 2nd of December their presence was made known by an attack upon a detachment of police and volunteers, one hundred and fifty-two strong, which was marching towards the Kei and

had halted at a place called Holland's Shop. Inspector Bourne, who was in command, formed his men into a hollow square flanked with guns, and succeeded in beating off his assailants.

In the campaign of October the imperial troops had garrisoned the posts west of the Kei while the colonial forces were engaged in Galekaland, but now a different arrangement was made. Colonel Glynn, of the 24th, was placed in command east of the Kei; and his own regiment, part of the 88th which was hurried up from Capetown, and a naval brigade from her Majesty's ship *Active*, took the field under his orders. Some auxiliary corps of Fingos and Tembus were raised, and the work of clearing the territory of the Galekas was again commenced.

This was hardly begun when the area of disturbance was greatly enlarged by the rising of many of the Rarabe clans within the colonial border. On the 22nd of December the Galeka chief Kiva crossed the Kei into the Gaika location, and made an impassioned appeal to the people there to aid the head of their tribe. Sandile's followers took up arms at once, and they were imitated by various clans in advance until the battle ground extended as far westward as Fort Beaufort and as far northward as Queenstown. The clan that was regarded as the most restless of all—with which the author of these volumes was then stationed to represent the government—took no part, however, in the rebellion, though its sympathies with the remainder of the tribe were so strong that the officer in charge thought it prudent to remove the chief and the people to a great distance westward.

Owing to the rebellion of the Rarabes, the campaign in Galekaland could not be carried on with as much vigour as at first, but during December 1877 and January 1878 a good deal of skirmishing took place, in which the Xosas were invariably worsted. On the 7th of February 1878 the decisive battle of Kentani took place. Captain Upcher, who was in charge of the Kentani post, had four hundred

and thirty-six Europeans of the imperial and colonial services and five hundred and sixty Fingos under his command. He was attacked by about five thousand Galekas and Gaikas, and an engagement took place in which the casualties on his side were only two Fingos killed and two Europeans and seven Fingos wounded, but which cost Kreli some three hundred of his bravest men. They rushed on in dense masses, and were mown down by a fire from heavy guns. Both Kreli and Sandile were present in this engagement. The principal column was led by Xito, the tribal priest * of the Galekas, who had performed certain ceremonies which caused the warriors to believe that they were invulnerable; but this feeling of confidence being destroyed, they gave way to despair. When they broke and fled, the volunteer cavalry and the Fingos pursued and prevented them from rallying. The battle of Kentani was a decisive one. Kreli did not attempt any further resistance, but with his remaining adherents at once crossed the Bashee.

Galekaland thus came under the control of the colonial government, but it was held under a different tenure from that of Fingoland and Idutywa. The last named districts were annexed to the colony, for though the governor's proclamation was not yet issued, it was only delayed by a pressure of business of greater importance. Galekaland was territory obtained by conquest, but not annexed to the colony. The civil officials in the annexed territory at this time were Mr. James Ayliff, whose title had been altered from Fingo agent to chief magistrate of Fingoland, Mr. T. P. Pattle, who had been appointed assistant magistrate and stationed at Butterworth in September 1877, Mr. F. P. Gladwin, who had been appointed assistant magistrate and stationed at Tsomo in October 1877, and Mr. T. R.

* *Witchfinder* is the term commonly used by European colonists to signify the holder of this office, but the word is not a good one. Xito's duties were to perform sacrifices for the tribe on important occasions, to prepare the warriors for battle, and to *smell out* those who sought to inflict injury on the chief's house by means of witchcraft.

Merriman, who in February 1878 had succeeded Mr. T. A. Cumming at Idutywa, with the title of magistrate.

In September 1878 the arrangements were completed under which the government of the country between the Kei and the Bashee was afterwards carried on. The three districts of Idutywa, Fingoland, and Galekaland were united, and Captain Matthew Blyth, C.M.G., formerly Fingo agent, was appointed chief magistrate of the Transkei, as the united territory was afterwards termed. Fingoland was divided into three sub-magistracies, named Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Butterworth. In October Mr. Gladwin was removed from Tsomo and appointed magistrate of Nqamakwe. In December Mr. Pattle was removed from Butterworth to Tsomo, and at the same time Mr. T. A. King was appointed magistrate of Butterworth. Idutywa remained as before a single district, of which Mr. T. R. Merriman continued to be the magistrate.

Galekaland was divided into two districts, named Kentani and Willowvale. The Gaikas who had not taken an open part in the war were removed from the location west of the Kei, which they had occupied since its assignment to them by Sir George Cathcart, and had ground given to them in the district of Kentani. Four blocks of land, each twenty thousand acres in extent, were laid out there for the use of these people, who numbered at the time of their removal one thousand and nineteen men, two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight women, and four thousand three hundred and sixty-seven children. Mr. Matthew B. Shaw was appointed magistrate of this district, and assumed duty on the 1st of October. The only legal power which he could exercise was derived from a commission under the act 26 and 27 Victoria, cap. 35, but practically he had the same jurisdiction as the magistrates of Nqamakwe, Butterworth, Tsolo, and Idutywa.

The old Gaika location west of the Kei was laid out in farms, which were sold by auction to Europeans, so that the colony gained that tract of ground in reality by the

war. It was formed into a magisterial district, and was named Cathcart.

In the district of Willowvale a considerable number of Galekas, who surrendered their arms and professed their willingness to come under colonial jurisdiction, were located. Mr. F. N. Streatfeild, C.M.G., was appointed magistrate of this district, and assumed duty on the 2nd of January 1879. His powers *de jure* and *de facto* were the same as those of Mr. Shaw.

Some areas of land in the districts of Kentani and Willowvale were reserved for occupation by Europeans, but before they could be given out the pressure of the Bantu for greater space was so strong that the project of white settlement there had to be abandoned.

In 1879 the residents in Idutywa, Butterworth, Nqamakwe, and Tsomo were required to surrender their guns and assagais to the government, under the general disarmament act which was then being enforced throughout the colony, for which they received compensation in money. In October 1880 many of the clans beyond the Bashee rose in arms against the Europeans. At that time the only military force in the Transkei consisted of three Cape policemen stationed at Ibeka. The hostile clans were in expectation of being joined by the Fingos, who were known to be brooding over their disarmament, which they felt as a grievance. The Fingos, however, saw at once that a coalition with them, if successful, would be followed by their own destruction, and the Christian section set an example to the others by responding to Captain Blyth's call for volunteers to enrol under European officers for the defence of the border.

On the 10th of November 1880 a hostile party made a raid into the Fingo districts and killed Captain Blakeway and about thirty of the Fingos under his command. On the 14th of November another raid was made, when Captain Von Linsingen, his son, and three other Europeans were killed. Shortly after this the colonial forces arrived at

the scene of disturbance, and prevented a repetition of these attacks. A large force of Fingos was subsequently employed in assisting the government against the hostile clans, and in that duty performed good service.

Though the districts of Nqamakwe, Tsomo, Butterworth, and Idutywa were annexed to the colony, colonial law was not carried out in them as it was on the western side of the Kei. Under the conditions of annexation the governor in council was empowered to draw up regulations which should have the force of law. These regulations were to be published in the *Gazette*, and in the session following their publication be laid before parliament, which retained the power of repealing or altering them. No acts of the Cape parliament were to be in force unless proclaimed so by the governor, or expressly extended to the annexed districts in the acts themselves. The code published in 1879 was the whole body of colonial law then in existence, except when in conflict with a number of regulations issued at the same time. One of these regulations was that where all parties to a civil suit were Bantu, the case could be dealt with according to Bantu law, that is the recognised custom of each tribe, which is not always identical with that of its neighbours. This clause covered all cases relating to marriage and inheritance, so that polygamy was not interfered with, nor an attempt made to destroy the bonds which hold Bantu society together.

The jurisdiction of the magistrates was unlimited in civil cases, but the loser had the right of appeal to the chief magistrate, or, after 1882, to the eastern districts court or the supreme court, as he might choose. In criminal cases the magistrates had large powers, but their decisions were subject to review by the chief magistrate, and after 1882 appeals could be made to the judges of the supreme court exactly as in the European districts of the colony. Persons charged with the commission of crimes to which by the colonial laws the penalty of death was attached were tried before 1882 by a court consisting of the chief magistrate as

president and two of the sub-magistrates, after that date by the judges of the circuit court.

After February 1882 the Fingos voluntarily paid an annual tax of two shillings and six pence each man for local purposes. The fund thus created was administered by a committee of headmen and magistrates, who met once every three months at the office of the chief magistrate. There were also sub-committees which met monthly at each magistracy. The proceeds of this tax amounted to about £800 annually, and the government contributed from the general revenue a sum equal to that voluntarily raised. The fund was devoted to the maintenance of a hospital at Butterworth which received patients from all parts of the Transkei, the construction and repair of roads, and such other public works as the committee might determine. This is a striking proof of the advancement in civilisation which was being made by the Fingos under Captain Blyth's guidance. After 1884 the inhabitants of each of the districts Idutywa, Kentani, and Willowvale contributed £50 yearly towards the maintenance of the hospital.

From the time that the Cape Colony came into possession of Galekaland by conquest, its annexation was considered desirable, in order that the system of government might be made legally uniform throughout the chief magistracy. In the session of parliament in 1878 a resolution proposed by the secretary for native affairs was agreed to: "that in the opinion of this house it is expedient that Galekaland should be annexed to this colony, and that the government take such steps as may place it in a position to introduce a bill to effect such annexation."

On the 9th of January 1879 Sir Bartle Frere, in a despatch to the secretary of state, forwarded this resolution, and on behalf of the colonial ministry requested that her Majesty's government would sanction the annexation. At that time the imperial government was anxious to bring about a confederation of the South African colonies and states, similar to that of the Canadian Dominion. Sir

Michael Hicks Beach therefore replied that he was disposed to think the present hardly a convenient time for taking any steps for determining the future position of Galekaland, and that it would seem preferable to wait until the general principles of confederation could be settled by a conference of colonial delegates. On the 19th of May Sir Bartle Frere wrote again, strongly recommending that the request of the Cape parliament should be complied with, so as to enable legislation to proceed in the coming session. The secretary of state answered that he could not do so, as her Majesty's government was very anxious that all questions connected with the territories adjacent to the Cape Colony, and not as yet actually incorporated with it, should be considered in connection with the delimitation of the provinces of the proposed union.

The session of 1879 thus passed by without the possibility of an annexation act being introduced. The correspondence with the secretary of state was, however, continued, in despatches too numerous for each to be referred to. On the 21st of October 1879 the governor forwarded a minute of the ministry, in which they stated that they deemed it of the utmost importance that the country formerly occupied by Kreli and the Galekas should be annexed to the colony. At last, on the 29th of January 1880, Sir Michael Hicks Beach wrote to Sir Bartle Frere that he had advised her Majesty to issue letters patent under the great seal authorising the colonial parliament to proceed with the necessary legislation, and that the letters patent would be transmitted as soon as certain assurances were received from the colonial ministry. On the 24th of March he wrote that he was satisfied with the assurances which had been forwarded, but desired that the regulations for the government of the territory should be submitted to him before the annexation was completed. On the 3rd of May Earl Kimberley, who had in the meantime succeeded Sir Michael Hicks Beach, forwarded a telegram to Sir Bartle Frere, announcing that the letters patent authorising

the annexation would be transmitted as soon as they had been settled by the law officers.

In the session of 1880 an annexation act was passed by the Cape parliament, but now another difficulty arose. The secretary of state declined to advise her Majesty to assent to it, owing to some confusion about the regulations and the report of a commission then about to be appointed to inquire into Bantu laws and customs. A change of ministry at the Cape followed, and further delays occurred until the act fell through by effluxion of time.

In the meantime the districts of Kentani and Willowvale were practically in a position differing but little from the remainder of the Transkei. The governor of the Cape Colony held a separate commission as governor of Galekaland and other territories similarly situated, and was guided by the advice of the colonial ministry. The administration of those districts was carried on through the department of the secretary for native affairs, and their revenue and expenditure were regulated by the parliament just as if they were legally districts of the colony. The judges of the supreme court, however, had no jurisdiction there.

In the session of 1884 the matter of annexation was taken up again, and a resolution similar to that of 1878 was adopted by the house of assembly. This was successful, for the necessary permission was obtained from England, and in 1885 an act for the purpose was passed, which was confirmed by the queen. On the 26th of August 1885 a proclamation was issued by Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, completing the annexation of Kentani and Willowvale to the Cape Colony.

The population of the six districts constituting the Transkei at this time consisted of about one hundred and nineteen thousand Bantu and eight hundred and twenty Europeans. The revenue derived from hut tax was about £12,000 a year, and from all other direct sources, chiefly fines, trading licenses, and stamps, about £4,000. Educational

purposes, that is grants in aid of mission schools, absorbed over thirty per cent of the whole revenue, and more than the remainder was expended on public works. Thus the Transkei was a burden upon the colonial treasury, though some portion of the deficit was made good by customs duties on goods sold there, and every year the difference between income and outlay was diminishing.

In 1875 the Tembu tribe was brought into a condition of great difficulty by the conduct of its chief. Among his concubines there was a Galeka woman, an illegitimate niece of Kreli, who had accompanied the great wife as an attendant when she went to Tembuland, and remained there ever since. Gangelizwe in a fit of passion inflicted very severe injuries upon this woman, and two days later ordered a young man named Ndevu to break her skull with a kerie. The murder was committed on the 25th of July. On the 27th the chief's messenger reported at the residency that the woman had been four days ill with headache and pain in the side. On the 29th Mr. William Wright, who in May 1873 had succeeded Mr. Chalmers as resident with Gangelizwe, was informed that she had died. For some months previous to the murder it was known that the woman was undergoing brutal treatment, and once it was rumoured that she was dead. Kreli then sent messengers to request that she might be allowed to visit her relatives, but the resident could not induce Gangelizwe either to consent to this or to permit the messengers to see her.

Gangelizwe's residence, where the murder was committed, was in the neighbourhood of the ground occupied by the Fingo chief Menziwe. That chief, apprehending that war with the Galekas would be the immediate consequence, declared publicly that he would remain neutral. This declaration so irritated Gangelizwe that he prepared to attack Menziwe, who thereupon fled with his people to Idutywa and requested protection from Mr. J. H. Garner, who during Mr. Cumming's absence was acting there as superintendent. On the 5th of August Menziwe's women and cattle crossed

the Bashee into Idutywa, and were followed by the warriors of the clan, six hundred in number, who were pursued to the river's edge by a Tembu army.

Kreli was induced on this occasion, as at the time of his daughter's ill treatment, to refer the matter to the Cape government, and the residents with the two chiefs, Messrs. J. Ayliff and W. Wright, were instructed to hold an investigation. The inquiry took place at Idutywa, in the presence of four representatives sent by each of the chiefs. Umbande, son of Menziwè, who had been one of Gangelizwe's most confidential advisers, was the principal witness. After taking evidence, Messrs. Ayliff and Wright found there was no question of Gangelizwe's guilt, whereupon the governor inflicted upon him a fine of two hundred head of cattle and £100 in money.

If the murdered woman had been a Tembu probably nothing more would have been heard of the matter. But she was a Galeka, and the people of her tribe, who were not satisfied with Gangelizwe's punishment, seemed resolved to avenge her death. Commandant Bowker was therefore instructed to enter Tembuland with a strong body of the frontier police, reinstate Menziwe, the Fingo chief whom Gangelizwe had driven away, and prevent hostilities by the Galekas. On the 14th of September the police crossed the Bashee for this purpose with Menziwe's clan.

Gangelizwe and his subordinate chiefs then did as they had done once before in a time of difficulty: they offered to place their country and their tribe under the control of the Cape government. On the 28th of October 1875 the terms of the cession, as drawn up in writing by the reverend Mr. Hargreaves on behalf of the Tembus, were discussed with Commandant Bowker and Mr. Wright at a meeting held at Clarkebury, at which all the chiefs of note in Tembuland Proper, except Dalasile, were present.

The Tembus proposed that Gangelizwe and fourteen heads of clans, who were named, should be recognised by the colonial government as chiefs, and that salaries, the

amounts of which were mentioned, should be paid to them; that hut tax should not be payable until 1878; that the boundaries of the country should remain as previously fixed; that the chiefs should retain judicial authority over their people, except in cases of certain specified crimes, and subject to appeal to magistrates; that the government of the mission stations should not be interfered with; that the Fingo chief Menziwe should be removed to a locality which was named; and that the sale of spirituous liquors to black people should be prohibited. These proposals were forwarded to the governor, and were agreed to, with the sole exception that Gangelizwe could not be recognised as a chief, though a salary of £200 would be paid to him yearly.

On the 10th of December another meeting of the chiefs and people took place at Emjanyana, when Commandant Bowker announced officially that the country and people had been taken over on the above terms, and that Mr. S. A. Probart would shortly be sent as a special commissioner to conclude the arrangements. At this meeting proposals were made on behalf of Dalasile to come under the Cape government, and were agreed to by Commandant Bowker. The conditions were that his people should not be mixed with others, but should have a separate magistrate; that he should receive a salary of £100 a year; and a few others similar to those under which Gangelizwe's immediate adherents were taken over.

A few days later Mr. Probart, who was then a member of the house of assembly, arrived in Tembuland. On the 24th of December he announced at a great meeting at Emjanyana that the government had ratified everything that Commandant Bowker had done. The conditions of the cession, as proposed by the Tembu chiefs, were agreed to, except that Gangelizwe must be deprived of all authority; but the commissioner added that it would depend upon the manner in which he should conduct himself whether at some future time he might not be

entrusted by the government with power in his own section of the tribe.

Dalasile was not present at this meeting, but on the 31st Mr. Probart met him at All Saints mission, informed him that the agreement made between him and Commandant Bowker was ratified, and asked him if he and his people were still of the same mind as to coming under the Cape government. Dalasile requested to be allowed an hour for consideration. After consultation with his counsellors, he then explained that what he desired was that he should come under the government himself, but retain the sole control of his people. All complaints, he thought, should be made to him, and the magistrate should have only joint power of settlement. Mr. Probart explained that this was not the meaning of the conditions agreed to, and after some argument Dalasile promised to adhere to his original proposals. That from the very first, however, this chief had no real intention of surrendering any power is shown by the circumstance that he never drew the salary to which he was entitled under the conditions of cession.

In this manner Tembuland Proper became a portion of the British dominions. The special commissioner submitted proposals to the government for the division of the territory into judicial districts, which were acted upon at once, and in 1876 the four magistracies of Emjanyana, Engcobo, Umtata, and Mqanduli were created.

In the first of these, Emjanyana, was the residence of the former agent, Mr. Wright, and he was left there as magistrate with the additional title and authority of chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper.

In the second, Engcobo, was the site selected for the office of the magistrate with Dalasile's people. In April Mr. W. E. Stanford was stationed there as magistrate.

In the third, Umtata, the seat of magistracy quickly became the most important town in the whole territory between the Kei and Natal. Major J. F. Boyes assumed duty as magistrate there in the month of April.

The fourth district, Mqanduli, bordered on the coast. In August the reverend Mr. John H. Scott, previously a Wesleyan missionary, was stationed there as magistrate.

The few European farmers in the territory remained on the same conditions as before, except that they were required to pay the annual rent to the Cape government instead of to Gangelizwe.

It was soon discovered that the power of Gangelizwe could not easily be set aside. The European government, the magistrates, and some of the alien clans might ignore him, but the clans of pure Tembu blood would not. All their national traditions, their ideas of patriotism, their feelings of pride, prompted them to be loyal to him. Stronger still than any of these motives was their religion. The belief of the Bantu is firm that the spirits of the dead chiefs hold the destinies of the tribes in their keeping. To renounce allegiance to the chief, the descendant and representative of those to whose spirits they offer sacrifices and whose wrath they dread as the greatest calamity that can overtake them, is in the Bantu way of thinking the most enormous of crimes. The magistrates encountered such difficulties in governing the people, owing to their sullen demeanour and continual complaints of the degradation to which their chief was subjected, that at the close of 1876 it was considered necessary to restore Gangelizwe to his former rank and to treat him as the highest Bantu official in the country.

When the war with Kreli began in 1877, Major Henry G. Elliot, who in August of that year succeeded Mr. Wright as chief magistrate, called upon the Tembus to take up arms for the government. In the district of Mqanduli, the magistrate, Mr. Scott, succeeded in raising a force of some strength, but in the other districts there was no response to the call to arms. Not a single individual of any clan under Dalasile came forward to aid the government. Stokwé, son of Tshali, who resided in Maxongo's Hoek at the base of the Drakensberg, joined the enemy

of the Europeans. He was the head of a small alien clan called the Amavundlé. All the rest of the tribe waited for the word of Gangelizwe. Fortunately, that chief had sufficient sagacity to see that an opportunity had occurred for him to secure the favour of the government. He declared himself a loyal subject of the queen, and took the field with Major Elliot. At once, as if by magic, the attitude of the people changed. From all sides they came in to join their chief, and thereafter rendered valuable assistance.

Dalasile was fined a hundred head of cattle for not complying with the orders of the chief magistrate. Stokwé was assisted by Umfanta and a body of men from the old location in the division of Queenstown, but in March 1878 Major Elliot fell upon him with a combined European and Bantu force, routed him after a sharp engagement, seized his cattle, and drove him and his adherents out of Maxongo's Hoek. He and Umfanta were both made prisoners in the following month.

At the close of the war of 1877-8 the Cape government resolved to make several important changes in the administration of the territories beyond the Kei. The staff of magistrates was to be increased, and the people were to be brought more under their jurisdiction. To secure a greater degree of uniformity in the systems of management, various districts which had been previously under separate heads were to be united under the same chief magistrate.

Emigrant Tembuland was divided into two judicial districts, named Southeyville and Xalanga. Mr. Charles J. Levey, who had previously borne the title of Tembu agent, was thereafter termed magistrate of Southeyville, and in July 1878 Mr. William G. Cumming assumed duty as magistrate at Xalanga.

The honourable William Ayliff, who was then secretary for native affairs, made a tour through the territory for the purpose of explaining the new system to the people and obtaining their consent to its introduction. On the 16th of

September 1878 he met the Emigrant Tembu chiefs Matanzima, Darala, Gecelo, and Stokwé the son of Ndlela at Cofinvaba, and after some discussion obtained their consent to the payment of hut tax. He informed them that over the ordinary magistrates there would be an officer to whom they could appeal whenever they thought justice was not done to them by the lower courts. The chiefs, according to Bantu custom, thanked Mr. Ayliff for the information, and appeared to be satisfied. Their part of the country was still only thinly occupied, though after their removal to it from the location west of the Indwe in 1865 they had been joined by a considerable number of Fingos, whom they had invited to occupy land there with the object of increasing their importance. Gecelo and Stokwé had so far adopted European ideas that they had granted farms on individual tenure to several of their followers.

The arrangement indicated by Mr. Ayliff was carried out by the union of Emigrant Tembuland and Tembuland Proper under Major Elliot as chief magistrate. In December 1878 Major Elliot paid his first visit to the territory thus added to that previously under his charge. He found the chiefs discontented and half defiant. They told him that they had been promised when they moved from the old Tambookie location that they would be regarded as independent in the country east of the Indwe, and now they were being made subject to magistrates, much against their will. Major Elliot replied that they had no cause to complain, for they had not carried out their agreement with the Cape government, but by leaving people behind in the old location had retained for their section of the tribe possession of that ground as well as acquiring the land they were then occupying.

In 1879 hut tax was first paid in the united territories of Emigrant Tembuland and Tembuland Proper. Before that date the Cape Colony had borne the expense of maintaining establishments without deriving any direct revenue from the people beyond a trifling amount as licenses

and quitrent from the few European traders and farmers in Tembuland Proper.

The whole territory west of the Umtata river had thus been brought under British dominion with the exception of the district termed Bomvanaland, which bordered on the seacoast east of the Bashee. The Bomvanas are part of a tribe that was dispersed in the convulsions of the early years of the nineteenth century. Another section of the tribe was called the Amatshezi, and resided partly in Pondoland and partly in Tembuland. The Bomvana section, under the chief Gambushe, grandfather of Moni, when driven out of Pondoland applied to the Galeka chief Kawuta to be received as a vassal clan, and was located by him along the Bashee. Subsequently they moved deeper into Galekaland, but in 1857 they decided not to destroy their cattle and grain as Kreli's people were then doing, and therefore retreated to the district in which they have since been residing.

It was with the Bomvanas, then under the chief Moni, that Kreli took refuge when driven from his own country in 1858. Though they had refused to follow the Galekas in the course which led to their dispersion, Moni and his people were faithful to them in their distress, and gave them all the succour that was in their power to bestow. In 1877 the Cape government placed a resident with Moni, in the person of Mr. William Fynn, who assumed duty on the 30th of June in that year. The clan was still, however, considered as in a condition of vassalage to the Galeka chief.

When the war of 1877 commenced, Moni announced his intention of remaining neutral. He did not attempt to conceal his attachment to Kreli, and stated that he would not abandon him in any ordinary peril, but to resist the European government was madness. When the Galekas fled across the Bashee before Colonel Griffith, some of them took refuge with the Pondos, but the greater number went no farther than Bomvanaland. It became necessary

therefore, as the war extended, to close this district against the Xosas, and Major Elliot was instructed by Sir Bartle Frere to place himself in communication with Moni and take such further steps as the commander of the forces might direct.

On the 7th of January 1878 Major Elliot had an interview at Moni's residence with the chief and the principal men of the Bomvana clan. Moni himself was at this time believed to be over eighty years of age, he was blind and too feeble to travel, but his mental faculties were perfect. Mr. Arthur Stanford and Mr. William Fynn were present at the interview, and acted as interpreters. Major Elliot explained that the Bomvanas were too weak to remain independent and neutral in such a struggle as that going on, they were unable to prevent the Galekas from making use of their country as a place of shelter and base of operations, and therefore it was necessary for the Cape government to take military occupation of it and hold it during the war. To this no objection was made by the chief, as in the nature of things it was not a proposal but an announcement.

A few days later Moni sent his son Langa and his principal counsellors to Mr. Fynn with a request that he would forward the following message to the governor: "I wish to become a British subject. I place my people and country under the government, and I now ask the governor to send Colonel Eustace to assist my magistrate in making arrangements for taking over the Bomvanas."

Colonel Eustace was accordingly directed to proceed to Bomvanaland, and on the 28th of February 1878 he and Major Elliot reached the chief's residence. A meeting was at once held, at which Moni, his sons, counsellors, sub-chiefs, and about three hundred of his people were present. Mr. William Fynn, the resident, acted as interpreter. Colonel Eustace addressed the chiefs and people to the effect that he had come at *their* request, that the Cape government had no wish to deprive them of their independence, that if they

became British subjects it would be of their own free will, that they would then have to pay hut tax and receive a magistrate, and that the chiefs would have to relinquish nearly all their power and influence. They replied that they wished to come under the Cape government upon the same conditions as were agreed to in the case of the Tembus. Colonel Eustace then accepted them formally as British subjects. After this had been done, Moni said he hoped yearly allowances would be granted to himself and several other chiefs whom he named. This Colonel Eustace promised to recommend.

Mr. Fynn, the former resident, was thereafter styled magistrate, and exercised judicial powers. In December 1878 Bomvanaland, or as it was now termed the district of Elliotdale, was united with the other six districts, Emjanyana, Engcobo, Umtata, Mqanduli, Southeyville, and Xalanga, to form the chief magistracy of Tembuland. In 1880 the Bomvanas first paid hut tax. They had as yet hardly been affected, even in outward appearance, by European civilisation. Between them and the Tembus there had never been a friendly feeling.

The year 1880 was one of unrest in Tembuland. In the early months the air was full of rumours of a combination among the various sections of the Bantu to throw off the supremacy of the white man. It was impossible for the magistrates to ascertain what was taking place, what plans were being concerted, or where the explosion would likely be felt first, but all were agreed that there were very grave reasons for uneasiness. In October this state of uncertainty was brought to an end by the murder of three British officials in a district east of the Umtata. This was the signal for insurrection in Tembuland, and immediately several of the clans rose in arms.

Without delay Major Elliot issued instructions to all the magistrates in the territory to collect the Europeans and other obedient inhabitants of their districts, and to retire either to Queenstown, Dordrecht, or Umtata, whichever

could be reached with greater chance of safety. Umtata was the only place he thought of holding. In his instructions he pointed out that nothing could cause greater anxiety to the government, or tend more to impede military operations, than the necessity of providing columns for the relief of small detached positions of no strategical importance which were not provisioned or in any other respect prepared to stand a siege. Most of the outlying magistracies were thereupon abandoned. Mr. Levey, who believed that he could defend Southeyville, remained at his post until a burgher force arrived with instructions to rescue him and then leave the place to its fate. As soon as this was carried out the office and residency were plundered and burnt by a party of the insurgents.

The clans that took up arms against the government were the Amakwati under Dalasile, occupying the district of Engcobo, and those under Gecelo and Stokwé the son of Ndlela in Southeyville and Xalanga. Among these there were no Tembus by descent except a few men who followed Siqungati, a brother of Gangelizwe. Another alien clan which had moved into these districts a few years before, under the petty chief Kosana, joined the insurgents, though Kosana himself took service with the colonial forces. All eyes were now turned towards Gangelizwe, for upon him alone it rested whether the insurrection should become general or not. He decided, as before, to be faithful to the government, and after this announcement was strengthened by his action in attaching himself to the chief magistrate, not a single clan joined the enemies of the Europeans, though the sympathy of the whole people was known to be entirely with them.

It thus became a comparatively easy matter to suppress the insurrection. The districts occupied by the clans that had taken up arms were swept by the colonial forces, and by February 1881 British authority was firmly restored. The insurgents had lost everything, had been driven out of the territory, and were thoroughly subdued.

In the session of 1882 the Cape parliament referred to a select committee the question of the future occupation of the land from which the insurgents had been driven. This committee brought up a report recommending that the portion of the district of Xalanga that had been occupied by the chief Gecelo should be allotted to European farmers; that the consent of the imperial government should be obtained for the issue of titles, in case annexation to the colony should be delayed; that the remaining lands in Xalanga and Southeyville should be granted to Bantu irrespective of their tribal relationships; that as the district of Engcobo, in which Dalasile's clan had resided, belonged to the Tembu tribe, it should not be allotted to any people without the approval of the paramount chief Gangelizwe, but that steps should be taken to obtain his consent to its occupation by European farmers; and that a commission should be appointed without delay to deal with the matter on these lines. The house of assembly hereupon expressed its opinion in favour of the appointment of such a commission, and the governor carried the resolution into effect.

The commission consisted of Messrs. J. Hemming, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Queenstown, J. J. Irvine and J. L. Bradfield, members of the house of assembly, and C. J. Bekker, justice of the peace for the division of Wodehouse, appointed on the 17th of August, and Messrs. J. J. Janse van Rensburg and J. Joubert, members of the house of assembly, appointed on the 22nd of September 1882.

In the meantime some Europeans from the border districts of the Cape Colony went in without leave and took possession of portions of the vacant territory, but subsequently they made no objection to pay the government for grazing licenses. The conflicting claims advanced by these people and their friends, by missionary societies, by traders, by chiefs and people, friendly, neutral, and lately hostile, made the task of the commission an

extremely difficult one. Gangelizwe was the least troublesome of all to deal with. He made a formal cession of the northern part of the district of Engcobo, and sent four of his counsellors to point out the boundary between it and the part which he reserved for his own people. In Xalanga and Southeyville a line was laid down between parts intended for settlement by Europeans and by Bantu, against which Messrs. Bekker, Van Rensburg, and Joubert protested as giving an undue proportion to the latter, but it was maintained, and the country below it was filled up with Bantu of different tribes, in the manner recommended by the parliamentary committee.

The land assigned for occupation by Europeans extended along the base of the Drakensberg adjoining the division of Wodehouse. Its whole extent, including the Slang river settlement, which dated from 1867, was only seven hundred and twelve square miles or one thousand eight hundred and forty-three square kilometres, and from this must be deducted thirty-eight square miles occupied as a Bantu location in Maxongo's Hoek.

The late insurgents were located chiefly in a magisterial district called Cala, formed of parts of the former districts of Southeyville and Xalanga. Mr. C. Levey was stationed there as magistrate. The remainder of the district of Southeyville, or the portion occupied by the clans under Matanzima and Darala, was formed into a separate district called St. Mark's, and in May 1881 Mr. R. W. Stanford assumed duty there as magistrate. The three districts—Xalanga occupied by Europeans and Cala and St. Mark's occupied by Bantu—were in September 1884 again formed into two, by the partition of Cala between Xalanga and St. Mark's. Mr. Levey thereupon became magistrate of Xalanga. In May 1884 Mr. R. W. Stanford was succeeded at St. Mark's by Mr. T. R. Merriman, who remained when the district was enlarged.

In 1882 part of an abandoned tract of land along the Umtata, on which European farmers had been located by

Gangelizwe before the cession of the country, was purchased from that chief by the government, for the purpose of providing commonage for a town which was becoming a place of importance. The site was selected by Mr. Probart in January 1876, near the western bank of the river of the same name, at a height of six hundred and seventy metres or two thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea. Across the river Pondoland stretches away; and to the northwest the Matiwane mountains, clad with forests, rise full in view. In 1885 Umtata contained about a hundred and fifty buildings, among which were the court house and public offices, an English cathedral, another English church, a Roman catholic mission church, a Wesleyan church, a high school, a theatre, and several large stores. It was the residence of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, and was the most important military station east of the Kei. Exclusive of the colonial military forces, it had then a European population of five hundred souls.

The seven districts forming Tembuland were not formally annexed to the Cape Colony until 1885. They were governed exactly in the same manner as the districts of Kentani and Willowvale in the Transkei, and precisely the same course was followed by the Cape parliament concerning them. When by the governor's proclamation of the 26th of August 1885 they were incorporated in the Cape Colony, the principal difference in their position that was effected was that the judges of the circuit and supreme courts thereafter tried important cases instead of a combined court of magistrates with the chief magistrate as president. Bantu law continued to be carried out in all civil cases where only Bantu were concerned, the chiefs were allowed to try civil and petty criminal cases, but there was a right of appeal from their decisions to the magistrates, no spirituous liquor could be sold by any one to a black man or woman under penalty of a fine of £50 and disqualification to trade thereafter in the territory, and no right of representation in the Cape parliament was given.

The population of Tembuland in 1885 consisted of about eight thousand five hundred Europeans and one hundred and fourteen thousand Bantu. The revenue had been very far short of the expenditure, but every year the deficiency was becoming less. One fourth of the whole revenue was expended for educational purposes, as the government was coöperating with the numerous mission societies in a supreme effort to elevate the people.

On the 30th of December 1884 the chief Gangelizwe died. His son by his great wife—the daughter of Kreli—Dalindyebo by name, was then only eighteen years of age. He had been educated, though not to a very high standard, in mission schools. In June 1884 Darala died. His great son being a child, a regent was appointed to act during his minority. The authority of the European government was therefore more readily acknowledged. Dalasile, chief of the Amakwati, still possessed much influence, but he was powerless for harm. He lived ten years longer, and died on the 18th of May 1895.

NOTE.—In the account of the ninth Kaffir war given in this chapter no mention has been made of the military operations west of the Kei, which were so disastrous to the Gaikas that their clans were entirely broken up. Sandile, their head, fell in a skirmish on the 29th of May 1878. When his body was found after the action, close by lay the corpse of Dukwana, son of Ntsikana, the leader of the Christian party among the Gaikas, whose attachment to his chief was so strong that he followed him to death. The once celebrated chief Siyolo was killed in battle, and many other men of note perished in the same way. Two sons of Sandile, a son of Makoma, the Tembu captain Gongubela who assisted them, and many more were made prisoners, and were sent as convicts to the breakwater works in Table Bay. So fatal was the war to the Gaikas that even their name was almost lost when it was over. But in this chapter I had to deal only with events east of the Kei.

CHAPTER LXXV.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL—(*continued*).

Griqualand East.

MORE than a year went by after the commission that has been mentioned as appointed to investigate the cause of the dissensions in Nomansland and to arrange boundaries between the various tribes and clans there completed its labours before the government of the Cape Colony took any further action. The war between the Galekas and Tembus, which occurred at this time, seemed to indicate the necessity of extending colonial influence and control in the rear of those tribes, and was the immediate cause of the appointment of the first European official in Nomansland. In July 1873 Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, previously a member of the house of assembly and an earnest advocate of the extension of British rule over the border tribes, was selected to fill the post of magistrate with a little party of colonial blacks who had settled at the Gatberg and with the clans of Lehana, Lebenya, and Zibi. He was also appointed British resident for the whole of Nomansland.

Upon his arrival in the territory, Mr. Orpen found that war was being carried on by the Pondo chief Ndamasi against Umhlonhlo, and that the rival sections of the Pondomsi were as usual fighting with each other. The Pondos were gaining an ascendency over their divided opponents, and there seemed a likelihood that they would be able to crush them all at no very distant date. Mr. Orpen immediately organised the Fingo, Batlokwa, and Basuto clans under him as a military force, and called upon Adam Kok for assist-

ance. In September he visited Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa, who both again made overtures to be received under British protection and promised to lay down their arms. Then, feeling confident that the Pondos would hesitate before coming into collision with the colonial government, he called upon them to cease hostilities. They did so, and within a few weeks there was peace throughout the territory.

In October the secretary for native affairs authorised Mr. Orpen to announce to Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa that they and their people were received as British subjects. Makaula and Makwai had repeated their applications, but the colonial government considered it advisable to let their cases stand over for a while, as they were not pressing. Formal notification of their acceptance was made to the two Pondomsi chiefs on the 22nd of October, and information thereof was sent to Umqikela and Ndamasi. These chiefs objected, first to the line from the Umtata to the Umzimvubu between Nomansland and Pondoland, secondly to the reception as British subjects of chiefs and people whom they claimed as being under their jurisdiction, and thirdly to the appointment of British officials in Pondo territory without their consent. But they declared that they had every desire to remain at peace with the colonial government, and would therefore respect the new arrangements.

The failure of Langalibalele's rebellion in Natal did much to strengthen the authority of the Cape government in Nomansland. On the 4th of November 1873 three Europeans and two blacks were shot down by the rebels in the Bushman's pass in the Drakensberg. The Hlubis were at the time removing their cattle from Natal, and it was believed that they intended to retire to Nomansland, where they had many relatives living under Ludidi, Langalibalele's brother, Zibi, Langalibalele's second cousin, and several other petty chiefs. It was known that there was a good understanding between the rebels and a great many other clans. The danger of a general rising was therefore imminent.

The Cape government with all haste sent detachments of the frontier armed and mounted police to Basutoland and Nomansland; the Natal government despatched the volunteers of that colony with Bantu auxiliaries in pursuit of the rebels; and Mr. Orpen, though less than four months in Nomansland, raised a force of Batlokwa, Basuto, and Griquas, to prevent Langalibalele from entering that territory. As soon as it was ascertained that the Hlubis were retiring into Basutoland, Inspector Grant with two hundred of the police left Nomansland to cross the mountains, and with him went Mr. Orpen and two hundred and thirty-five picked men under Lehana and Lebenya. But the country they had to traverse was the most rugged in South Africa, so that they did not reach Basutoland until after the surrender of Langalibalele.

The dispersion of the Hlubis, the confiscation of their cattle, and the banishment of their chief followed. To all the tribes, but particularly to those in Nomansland where the conflicting elements were more numerous than elsewhere, the fate of the rebels was a lesson that the Europeans were strong enough to enforce order. The clans, though weary of their perpetual feuds, would certainly not have submitted to the white man's rule for any cause except that of respect for power. We flatter ourselves by speaking of our greater wisdom, clemency, sense of justice, &c., but no untutored individual of the Bantu race respects us for any other quality than our superior strength.

After the reception of Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa as British subjects in 1873, Mr. Orpen took up his residence at Tsolo in the Pondomsi district, his object being to establish the authority of the Cape government there in something more than name. He found the chiefs Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa altogether opposed to any interference with their people. Though the system of government by means of magistrates had been thoroughly explained to them and they had applied to be received as British subjects with full knowledge of what the effect upon themselves would be,

they now remonstrated against any deprivation of their former power. Each of them was causing people to be put to death on charges of dealing in witchcraft, or merely from caprice. Umhlonhlo refused even to allow a census of his people to be taken.

In this case, as in so many others, the dissensions among the clans presented a lever to work with. Mr. Orpen explained how easily he could bring about a combination of opponents to crush any one who should resist him, and how slow friends would be in coming to assist against a power that had just punished Langalibalele so severely. The two chiefs realised the situation, and without much ado made a show of submission. They were both charged with murder, tried in open court, found guilty, and fined.

The next event of importance in the territory was the establishment of colonial authority in Adam Kok's district. The Griquas had moved there at the instance of her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, but they had never received protection, or been in any way interfered with. Adam Kok was getting old, and was without an heir. In 1874 he had nominally some thirty-six thousand subjects, but only four thousand one hundred were Griquas, the remainder being aliens, Fingos, Basuto, Bacas, and others who had settled on ground given to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse. The demands made upon him by Mr. Orpen for assistance, first against the Pondos, and next against Langalibalele, showed him the anomalous position in which he was placed. He asked that he should either be recognised as an independent chief, or be granted the rights and privileges of a British subject.

On the 16th of October 1874 Governor Sir Henry Barkly, who was then making a tour through the territories, met the Griqua chief and the members of his council at Kokstad. Mr. Orpen, the British resident in Nomansland, was with the governor. The question of Adam Kok's position was discussed, and a provisional agreement was made for the assumption of direct authority over the

country by the colonial government. The official books and documents were transferred to Mr. Orpen by the Griqua secretary, and the territory was added by the governor to that already under his charge, with the understanding that all existing institutions were to remain undisturbed for the time being.

In February 1875 Messrs. Donald Strachan, who had been a magistrate under Adam Kok, and G. C. Brisley, secretary of the Griqua government, arrived in Capetown as representatives of the Griqua chief and people, and concluded the arrangements. Kok was to retain his title of chief, be paid a salary of £700 per annum, and have joint authority with a commissioner who should correspond directly with the secretary for native affairs. The members of the Griqua council were to receive small annuities, and all undisputed titles to land were to be confirmed. With these conditions all except a few lawless individuals were satisfied. Mr. Thomas A. Cumming, superintendent of Idutywa, was appointed acting commissioner, and assumed duty at Kokstad on the 25th of March 1875. Practically he carried on the government, as Kok left nearly everything in his hands. A petition against the change thus brought about was prepared by the disaffected party, but it only proved their weakness, for when forwarded to Capetown it contained no more than one hundred and thirty-one signatures. Adam Kok wrote to the colonial government, protesting against its being considered as of any importance, and stating that three-fourths of the signatures were those of persons who had neither position nor property in the country.

The territory thus added to the British dominions is that comprised in the three districts of Umzimkulu, Kokstad, and Matatiele. These districts were indeed formed under the Griqua government, and the same divisions continued to be recognised by the colonial authorities. Mr. Donald Strachan remained magistrate of Umzimkulu, and Mr. Cumming performed the same duties at Kokstad. Matatiele was left for

a time without a magistrate. In these districts there were besides the Griquas, the Basuto under Makwai, the Hlubis under Ludidi, the Hlangwenis under Sidoyi, and a great many other Bantu clans, all of whom expressed pleasure on becoming British subjects.

On the 30th of December 1875 Adam Kok died. The nominal dual authority then ceased, as he had no successor. A few months later Captain Matthew Blyth was transferred from the Transkei to be chief magistrate of the three Griqua districts, and assumed duty in March 1876, Mr. Cumming returning to Idutywa. On his arrival at Kokstad Captain Blyth found a rebellious spirit still existing among some of the Griquas, but as he was accompanied by a strong police force he had no difficulty in suppressing it. He placed two of the disaffected men under arrest, and disarmed the others, after which there was no open display of sedition.

He soon found that more serious danger was to be apprehended from the designs of Nehemiah Moshesh. That individual in 1875 had the assurance to bring his pretensions to the ownership of Matatiele by petition before the colonial parliament, and one of the objects of a commission appointed in that year was to investigate his claim. The commission consisted of Messrs. C. D. Griffith, governor's agent in Basutoland, S. A. Probart, member of the house of assembly, and T. A. Cumming, acting commissioner with Adam Kok. After a long and patient examination, these gentlemen decided that Nehemiah had forfeited any right he might ever have had through promises of Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse to allow him to remain in Matatiele on good behaviour. Even before this decision was known he had been holding political meetings in the country, Mr. Orpen having permitted him again to take up his residence in it; and now he was endeavouring to bring about union of the Bantu tribes in the territory, with the evident object of throwing off European control. There could be no such thing as contentment in the land while

such an agitator was at liberty, and Captain Blyth therefore had him arrested. He was subsequently tried in King-Williamstown and acquitted, but his detention in the mean time enabled the authorities to carry out the law and maintain order.

To the territory under Captain Blyth's administration was added in March 1876 the block of land between Matatiele, the Pondomsi country, and the Pondo boundary line, since called the district of Mount Frere, by the acceptance of the Bacas under Makaula as British subjects. This chief and his counsellors had repeatedly requested to be taken over, and their petition had been favourably reported on by the commission of 1875. The terms under which they became subjects were the usual ones: that in all civil and in petty criminal complaints suitors might bring their cases before the magistrate or the chief at their option, that there should be an appeal from the chief to the magistrate, that important criminal cases were to be tried by the magistrate, that no charge of dealing in witchcraft was to be entertained, that on every hut a yearly tax of ten shillings was to be paid, and that the chief was to receive a salary of £100 a year and his counsellors certain smaller annuities. Captain Blyth placed Sub-Inspector John Maclean, of the frontier armed and mounted police, in charge of Makaula's people until the arrival in May 1876 of the magistrate selected by the secretary for native affairs, Mr. J. H. Garner, son of a missionary who had lived with them for many years.

No clan in the whole of the territories from the Kei to Natal afterwards gave greater satisfaction than the people of Mount Frere. The reports from the magistrates were uniform as to their good conduct, and on several occasions they showed by their readiness to take the field with the colonial forces that they appreciated the advantages of British protection. Yet Makaula was a son of the ruthless freebooter Ncapayi, one of the most dreaded men of his time, so much has circumstance to do in moulding the

character of a Bantu chief. He lived to an advanced age, and died in September 1906.*

Early in 1878, while the colony was involved in war with the Xosas, the disaffected Griquas took up arms under Smith Pommer, a Hottentot from the Kat river, and Adam Muis, who had at one time been an official under Adam Kok. They were confident of receiving assistance from the Pondos under Umqikela, and there can be little doubt that if they had been successful at first the whole Pondo army would have joined them. One of the leaders visited Umqikela, and returned to Pommer's camp with ninety Pondos under command of Josiah Jenkins, an educated nephew of the chief. It was only when Josiah saw that adherence to the insurgent cause meant certain destruction that he and the Pondos under him surrendered to Captain Blyth, when an apology was made for them that they had been sent by Umqikela to deliver Adam Muis to the chief magistrate, but that owing to their leader's youth and inexperience he had blundered in carrying out his instructions.

There was at the time a troop of the Cape mounted police at Kokstad, which was joined by a few European volunteers, some Hlangwenis under the chief Sidoyi, and by Makaula's Bacas, who rendered important assistance. In two engagements, on the 14th and 17th of April, the insurgents were defeated, with a loss of thirty-five killed, including Muis and Pommer. Nearly two hundred were made prisoners, and the revolt was completely stamped out.

The districts of Umzimkulu, Kokstad, Matatiele, and Mount Frere remained under Captain Blyth's jurisdiction as chief magistrate until September 1878, when he returned to his former post in Transkei. Mr. Strachan continued to be magistrate of Umzimkulu, and Mr. Garner of Mount Frere. Mr. G. P. Stafford was stationed by Captain Blyth at Matatiele, and performed the duty of magistrate until August 1876, when Mr. M. W. Liefeldt was placed there. At Kokstad the chief magistrate resided. This arrangement was a continuation of the old order of things under Adam

Kok, and was in accordance with the recommendation of the commission of 1875, which had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the territory. When Captain Blyth left, Mr. C. P. Watermeyer was appointed acting chief magistrate, and held office until the 25th of the following December.

The remainder of Nomansland, that is the territory between the Kenigha river and Tembuland, had at this time a population of about twenty-two thousand souls. In April 1875 Mr. Orpen resigned his appointment as British resident, and left the territory. His clerk, Mr. Frederick P. Gladwin, was then instructed to act until arrangements could be made for placing magistrates with the different clans that had been received as British subjects.

Already one such magistrate had been appointed, to the Gatberg, thereafter known as the district of Maclear, but he had accidentally lost his life. Mr. J. R. Thomson was then selected, and assumed duty in November 1875, when the people of Lehana, Lebenya, and Zibi were first called upon to pay hut tax. These clans were then giving little or no trouble. In 1878 Lebenya and Zibi gave considerable assistance against the rebel Baputi under Morosi, and the Batlokwa of Lehana were hardly less active, though on that occasion the chief himself was not so zealous as he might have been.

The next appointment was that of Mr. Matthew B. Shaw to the magistracy of the country occupied by Umhlonhlo's people, thereafter termed the district of Qumbu. Mr. Shaw assumed duty there in June 1876, and remained until July 1878, when he was succeeded by Mr. Hamilton Hope.

Mr. Gladwin had then only Umditshwa's people in the district of Tsolo to act with. In September 1877 Mr. A. R. Welsh was appointed magistrate with that chief, who had been giving considerable trouble. He was exceedingly jealous of any interference with his people, but was submissive enough in the presence of a force able to chastise him. This was shown in an almost ludicrous manner on one occasion, when a strong body of police happened to be near by in

Tembuland. In 1878 he furnished a contingent of eight hundred men to assist against Stokwé, son of Tshali, but this was when Stokwé's cause was seen to be hopeless.

These three districts, Maclear, Qumbu, and Tsolo, were not subject to the authority of the chief magistrate of Griqualand East until the close of 1878, when the consolidation of the different territories took place. Prior to that date each of the magistrates corresponded directly with the secretary for native affairs, and received instructions from him. But upon the appointment of the honourable Charles Brownlee, who assumed duty as chief magistrate on the 25th of December 1878, the seven districts were united, and the title of Nomansland was lost by the extension of that of Griqualand East to the whole territory.

Thereafter the district of Kokstad was provided with a magistrate, so as to leave the head of the territory free to attend to more important matters than adjudicating in petty cases. Mr. George W. Hawthorn was appointed, and assumed duty on the 1st of January 1879.

To this period the government had been acting in Griqualand East without any other authority from parliament than the allowance of the excess of expense incurred over revenue received. In 1873 the honourable Charles Brownlee, then secretary for native affairs, in a report upon his arrangement of terms of peace between Kreli and Gangelizwe, recommended the extension of colonial authority over the country ceded by Faku. This report was submitted to parliament, and a committee of the house of assembly was appointed to consider it, but did not conclude its labours before parliament was prorogued.

In 1875 the subject was brought by the ministry before parliament, and a resolution was adopted by both houses, declaring that it was "expedient that the country situated between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, commonly known as Nomansland, should be annexed to this colony, and that the government take such preliminary steps as may place it in a position to effect such annexation." On the 30th of

June in this year the governor in his prorogation speech announced that her Majesty's concurrence in the annexation of Nomansland had already been officially notified to him.

In June 1876 letters patent were issued at Westminster, empowering the governor to proclaim the territory annexed to the Cape Colony, after the legislature had passed the requisite act. In 1877 an annexation act was passed by the Cape parliament, and on the 17th of September 1879 the measure was completed by the issue of the governor's proclamation, to have force from the 1st of the following month.

The country thus became part of the Cape Colony, but as its inhabitants were not sufficiently advanced in civilisation to be admitted to the full privileges or to perform the whole duties of burghers, it was made subject to special legislation by the governor with the advice of the executive council, just as Transkei and Tembuland. The proclamation of the 17th of September 1879 provided that all the laws then in force in the Cape Colony should become the laws of Griqualand East, except in so far as they should be modified by certain regulations published at the same time. The territory was not represented in the Cape parliament, nor were acts of parliament passed after September 1879 in force there unless expressly extended to it in the acts themselves or by proclamation of the governor in council.

In the year 1880 a formidable attempt was made by several Bantu clans in the territory to throw off European supremacy. People who had come under the white man's control at their own urgent and often repeated request when threatened with destruction by their enemies, as soon as the peril was over demurred to any restraint such as the laws of a civilised government necessarily imposed upon them. Englishmen at home had lulled themselves into the self-flattering delusion that these people had a high regard for English justice and English benevolence, when in reality it was only English power that they had any respect for.

In April 1880 the chief magistrate of Griqualand East began to observe that matters were becoming very unsatisfactory. Outwardly all was as calm as ever. Chiefs and people were loud in expressions of loyalty and declarations of satisfaction. But Mr. Brownlee was too experienced in the ways of the Bantu to trust to indications of this kind, and when he ascertained that Basuto messengers were stealthily passing to and fro and that the chiefs were in close correspondence with each other, he knew that a storm was gathering.

There was a small force of Cape mounted riflemen, as the frontier armed and mounted police were now termed, in the territory, but early in September it was sent to Basutoland. After this the reports received by Mr. Brownlee became more alarming, and he determined to visit Matatiele, where the greatest danger of disturbance was to be apprehended. On the 11th of September he held a meeting with the Basuto of that magistracy, and received their repeated assurances that no matter what their tribe beyond the mountains might do they would ever be found loyal to the colonial government.

The chief magistrate returned to Kokstad, and there received intelligence of the engagement of the 13th of September between Lerothodi and the Cape mounted rifles at Mafeteng and that nearly the whole Basuto tribe had risen in rebellion against the Cape Colony. Taking with him Mr. Donald Strachan and Mr. George Hawthorn, that gentleman's successor as magistrate of Umzimkulu, with an escort of twenty-five men of the Abalondolozi, Mr. Brownlee left again for Matatiele. He reached the residency on the 30th of September, and found the Basuto, who less than three weeks before had been talking so loyally, now arming and singing war songs in all the locations. He endeavoured to pacify them, but in vain. Mr. Liefeldt, the magistrate, enrolled a hundred Hlubis and Basuto whom he believed to be trustworthy, for the defence of the residency, but it was soon ascertained that no dependence could be placed

upon the Basuto. Forty of them deserted during the night of the 2nd of October, and joined the insurgents.

On the night of the 3rd of October it was resolved to abandon the residency, as it was not possible to hold it, and to remain longer would expose the little party to certain death. Next morning Messrs. Brownlee, Strachan, Hawthorn, and Liefeldt effected their escape, and a little later in the day the place was surrounded by insurgents, through whom the Hlubis were compelled to cut their way with a loss of eleven men. By this time the whole district of Matatiele was in revolt, the trading stations were being plundered and the mission stations destroyed. The Europeans, after being despoiled of everything, were permitted to retire to Kokstad.

As soon as intelligence of the Basuto insurrection reached Maclear, the magistrate, Mr. J. R. Thomson, enrolled the Fingos and a few colonial blacks who in 1872 had been located in that district, and made the best preparations that he could for the defence of his post. His position was one of great peril, for it was anticipated that the insurgents of Matatiele would be joined by their kinsmen in his district.

It was then that Hamilton Hope, magistrate of Qumbu, resolved to aid in the defence of Maclear and at the same time secure the Pondomsis under Umhlonhlo on the European side, or perish in the attempt. He had always been on friendly terms with Umhlonhlo, and had treated him with extreme consideration. The chief professed to be attached to the magistrate, and asserted his readiness to act in any way Mr. Hope might direct. To outward appearance there was no reason to suspect him of treacherous intentions. But Mr. Hope knew the character of the people he had to deal with, and he had received abundant warning of the danger he was about to incur. At that time he could easily have escaped to Umtata. But like a brave man and a faithful servant of the government, as he was, he determined to risk his life in the effort to get

Umhlonhlo to commit himself against the enemies of the Europeans, and thus confine the insurrection within narrow bounds.

He arranged with Umhlonhlo to meet him with five hundred men at a camp on the road to Maclear, to which place he would bring all the men he could collect about the residency and such arms and ammunition as could be obtained. His clerk, Mr. Davis, and two young officers on the establishment of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, by name Henman and Warrene, accompanied him. Mr. Hope suggested to these gentlemen that they had better not go, as it was sufficient for him alone to incur the risk, but they preferred proceeding to remaining behind and thereby betraying to Umhlonhlo and his people that they were not implicitly trusted.

On the 23rd of October all was ready for the advance. There had been as yet no show of enmity on one side or of want of confidence on the other. Umhlonhlo's men ranged themselves in a semicircle for a war dance preparatory to marching, and the Europeans stood by the waggons as observers. As the dance went on, little groups of warriors rushed out from the main body, flourishing their assagais and pretending to stab opponents. Of a sudden one of these groups dashed forward and struck down Messrs. Hope, Henman, and Warrene. Mr. Davis was spared, owing to his being the son of an old missionary with the Pondomsis and the brother of a missionary then with the tribe. Three or four hundred snider rifles and twenty-seven thousand rounds of ammunition fell into Umhlonhlo's hands by this act of treachery, which was a signal for a rising of the clans on both sides of the Umtata. The magistrate's horse and gun were given to Roqa and Umbeni, two Pondo messengers who were present at the massacre, and they were directed by Umhlonhlo to take them as a present to Ndabankulu, a brother of the Pondo chief Umqikela, with an intimation of what had been done.

Immediately after the murder of the officials Umhlonhlo joined the rebel Basuto. Mr. Thomson, with forty European

volunteers from Dordrecht and one hundred and twenty Batlokwa under Lehana, had in the mean time left Maclear, and was advancing to meet Mr. Hope, when intelligence of the murder reached him. He had only time to take shelter in a trading station when he was surrounded by the enemy. Here, though attacked repeatedly, he managed to beat his assailants off and hold the post until the arrival of a column of friendly Hlangwenis from Umzimkulu, under Mr. Hawthorn. Mr. Thomson then made a stand at the Maclear residency, where for a month he was cut off from all communication by a host of Basuto, Pondomsi, and Tembu rebels, but when reduced to the last extremity for food and ammunition he was rescued by a party of volunteers from Dordrecht.

The murder by Umhlonhlo's people took place close to a station in charge of the reverend Stephen Adonis, a coloured missionary. Fearing that he also might be put to death, he sprang upon a horse with only a riem in the mouth, and made all haste to Tsolo. Having informed Mr. Welsh, the magistrate there, of what had occurred, he sped on to Umtata, which post he reached that same night, and gave warning to Major Elliot, chief magistrate of Tembuland.

There was only one building at Tsolo capable of being defended, and that was the prison. Its walls were of stone, and it was roofed with iron, but it was very small. Mr. Welsh hastily loopholed it, and then the Europeans, men, women, and children, and the black police took shelter within it. They were not a moment too soon, for Umditshwa's people had already risen, and were even then plundering and burning the trading stations in the district. Next morning at dawn two traders, who had escaped with only their lives, joined them, and then there were shut up in that little building thirty Europeans, of whom only eleven were men, and five black policemen. They had no more than two hundred rounds of ammunition and a very scanty supply of food. The Pondomsis, mad with war excitement, plundered and destroyed the residency and other buildings before their eyes. Every moment they feared

would be their last, though they were resolved to sell their lives dearly. Umditshwa offered, if they would leave the prison, to send them under escort to Umtata, but wretched as they were they could not trust themselves in his hands.

Their only hope was in relief from Umtata. But Major Elliot was in almost desperate straits, for many of the clans in the territory under his charge had also risen, his sub-magistracies were abandoned, he was himself in lager, and until Gangelizwe came in he had every reason to believe that all Tembuland was in rebellion. It was eight days before help of any kind could be sent. At last, on Sunday the 31st of October, when they were almost sunk in despair, a column was seen approaching Tsolo. It was a body of Nquiliso's Pondos, led by the reverend James Morris, and accompanied by six European volunteers from Umtata. Braver men than these seven white colonists no country need wish to have. They went with their lives in their hands, for there was no guarantee that Nquiliso's people would not act as Umhlonhlo's had done, and it was certain that at the best these Pondos were not more than lukewarm in rendering assistance. When the relief column reached Tsolo, some of the rescued Europeans, from hunger, anxiety, and the horrible discomforts of such close confinement, were found to be delirious. All, however, were saved, and reached Umtata without further suffering.

Thus the insurrection had spread over the four districts of Matatiele, Maclear, Qumbu, and Tsolo. All the Basuto, except a very few of Lebenya's followers whose conduct was doubtful, all the Pondomsis, and about three hundred of the Batlokwa, under Ledingwana, nephew of Lehana, rose in arms against the Europeans. Even some of the Hlubis, to save themselves from destruction, professed to be with the insurgents. On the side of the colonial government there were a score or two of destitute white men, as many colonial blacks, and a few hundred Fingos and Batlokwa under Lehana. To the remaining districts, Kokstad, Umzimkulu, and Mount Frere, the rebellion did not spread,

with the exception that one small clan left Kokstad and joined the insurgents.

Intelligence of the simultaneous rising of so many clans, of the massacre by Umhlonhlo's people, of the murder of several traders, of the pillage and destruction of public buildings, trading establishments, and mission stations, burst upon the colonial government and people like a sudden thunderclap. The difficulties encountered in Basutoland, constantly increasing in magnitude, had previously engrossed public attention. The regular military forces of the colony had all been sent to meet the bands of Lerothodi and Masupha. The government therefore called out a large number of burghers, and as fast as they could be raised bodies of volunteers and levies were sent to the front.

Mr. Brownlee on his side speedily had a strong force in the field. There were a good many European farmers who had purchased ground from the Griquas in the districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu, there were traders scattered over all the districts, and in the village of Kokstad there were a few mechanics. From these sources a small body of volunteers was raised. The Griquas furnished another corps. The Bacas of Nomtsheketshe and Makaula supplied contingents. Sidoyi, chief of a large clan of the Hlangwenis, who had fled into the territory from Natal twenty-three years before, gave great assistance. Another large body that took the field on the European side was composed of Bantu from Umzimkulu. These people consisted principally of little groups of refugees who had lost their hereditary chiefs, and who had settled in Umzimkulu under Mr. Donald Strachan's protection when he was one of Adam Kok's magistrates. Since that time they had regarded him as their head, and were devoted to him personally. Mr. Strachan had resigned the appointment of magistrate of Umzimkulu, but at Mr. Brownlee's request he now became commandant-general of the auxiliary Bantu forces, and was followed to the field by quite a formidable though undisciplined army.

The insurgents were thus attacked on both sides, and heavy losses were inflicted upon them. The Basuto made a very poor resistance, and soon abandoned Griqualand East altogether and retreated over the Drakensberg to the country occupied by the main section of their tribe. Umhlonhlo's people took their cattle into Eastern Pondoland, where, owing to Umqikela's friendship, they were kept safely, and were restored when the country was again at peace. The clan was dispersed, but efforts made to capture the chief were unsuccessful until 1903. Umditshwa's people took their cattle into Nquiliso's country, but when the insurrection was quelled the Pondos refused to restore them. They thus lost everything.

On the 14th of January 1881 Umditshwa, with two of his sons of minor rank and six of his counsellors, surrendered. They were sent to King-Williamstown, where in the following September they were put upon their trial before the circuit court, when, being found guilty of rebellion, the chief was sentenced to three years imprisonment, and his sons and counsellors to two years hard labour. With the surrender of Umditshwa the insurrection in Griqualand East came to an end, as the colonial forces were then in full possession of the territory, and after that date no resistance was offered there.

The people who had risen in arms now began to give themselves up. As fast as they surrendered they were disarmed and temporarily located, pending the decision of the colonial authorities as to their final settlement. During the years 1881, 1882, and 1883, they continued to come in from Pondoland and other districts to which they had fled, but most of the Basuto who had rebelled were not permitted to return to Griqualand East.

In June 1883 a commission, consisting of Messrs. C. Brownlee, D. Strachan, and C. P. Watermeyer, was appointed for the purpose of settling the country that had been occupied by the insurgents. The plan of the government was that a reserve of twenty to twenty-five thousand

morgen in extent should be laid out for occupation by Europeans around the seats of magistracy of Qumbu and Tsolo, the remainder of those districts being allotted to Bantu. All who had not taken part in the insurrection in Maclear and Matatiele were to be invited to remove to Qumbu or Tsolo, but if they should not choose to do so they were to have locations secured to them where they were. The remainder of the country was to be laid out in farms and sold to Europeans.

The commission was engaged for some months in defining locations and settling in them the various applicants for land. A large part of the district of Qumbu was given to Fingos, comprising a clan under Ludidi, who moved from Matatiele, a clan under Umtengwane, son of Ludidi, who came from Mount Frere, a clan under Nelani, who came also from Mount Frere, surplus population from the Izeli valley in the division of King-Williamstown, and a clan under the headman Maqubo. The Pondomsis had an extensive location assigned to them, in which they were placed under the headman Umzansi, a brother of Umhlonhlo. Another tract of land was allotted to a body of Basuto under Sofonia Moshesh. People of different tribes mixed together were placed in locations under Jonas and Umtonintshe. The Wesleyan mission station Shawbury had a large block of land assigned to its dependents. And around the seat of magistracy some twenty thousand morgen, the remainder of the district, were reserved for the use of Europeans.

The district of Tsolo, with the exception of a reserve of some twenty-three thousand morgen about the seat of magistracy, was likewise entirely parcelled out among Bantu. Here also the Fingos received large allotments. A number of these people moved in from the district of Maclear, and to those from the Izeli a section was assigned, bordering on their ground in Qumbu. The late rebel Pondomsis, over whom Mabasa, uncle of Umditshwa, was placed as headman, received a large location. Ground was assigned to the Tolas

under Bikwe, a clan which migrated from Pondoland in 1882. Four other locations, under as many headmen, were given to people of various clans, among whom were a good many Pondomsis. The mission of the church of England was provided with ground on which to reëstablish its destroyed station of Saint Augustine. And several deserving blacks received farms from five hundred to a thousand acres in extent as quitrent grants.

The district of Maclear was in 1882 divided into two magisterial districts, named Maclear and Mount Fletcher. Bantu were left by the commission almost entirely in possession of the latter. In it was the old location of the Hlubis under Zibi, left intact, the location of the Batlokwa under Lehana, of which it was intended to allot a portion to Europeans, but the design was never carried out, and as much of Lebenya's old location as the commission considered was needed by those of his people who professed to have been faithful to the colonial government.

In the district of Maclear there was a large location of Fingos mixed with people of various clans, and several farms occupied by coloured people, but the greater portion of the land was retained for occupation by Europeans. A number of quitrent farms were surveyed there and sold by public auction even before the appointment of the commission.

In the district of Matatiele about one fourth of the land was laid out in locations for Bantu. These locations were assigned to Basuto under George Moshesh, Tsita Moshesh, and three other headmen, some of them recent refugees from Basutoland, others individuals who at first aided the insurgents, but subsequently joined the colonial forces when they appeared in strength; Baputi under Masakala, who had also been hostile and friendly by turns; Fingos under several headmen; and a section of the Hlangweni clan under Umzongwana, son of the late chief Sidoyi. The remainder of this district was reserved for occupation by European farmers.

The removal of the Fingos from the district of Mount Frere made room for the Bacas under Nomtsheketshe to move in from the Rode (pronounced Kho-day) valley in Pondoland. This did away with one of the elements of confusion on the southern border. The Bacas and Pondos in the Rode were continually quarrelling, and there was such strong sympathy between the former and their kinsmen under Makaula that there was an ever present danger of these being drawn into conflicts which might terminate in a general war. Nomtsheketshe was by descent of higher rank than Makaula, but his following was much smaller.

The area of the five districts, Maclear, Mount Fletcher, Matatiele, Qumbu, and Tsolo, is about five thousand eight hundred square miles or fifteen thousand and thirty-four square kilometres. The settlement effected gave four thousand two hundred square miles or ten thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven square kilometres, to Bantu, and left one thousand six hundred square miles or four thousand one hundred and forty-seven square kilometres for occupation by Europeans. Some of this, however, was afterwards given to Bantu as a matter of necessity, so that the gain was small as far as colonisation by white men was concerned.

In addition to the eight districts of Maclear, Mount Fletcher, Qumbu, Tsolo, Matatiele, Kokstad, Umzimkulu, and Mount Frere, the chief magistracy of Griqualand East covered a tract of land about two hundred and forty square miles or six hundred and twenty-two square kilometres in extent, termed the district of Mount Ayliff, which was united to it in 1878. This district was on the southern side of the line laid down by Faku, and was consequently part of Pondoland until the Xesibes who lived in it were received as British subjects. It was situated between the Rode and the head waters of the Umtamvuna river, and had the district of Kokstad on the north and the county of Alfred in Natal on the east. Its southern boundary was not defined when the clan was taken over, but was under-

stood to be where Xesibe kraals ended and Pondo kraals began.

It became British territory through the resistance of Umqikela, the paramount Pondo chief, to certain demands made upon him by the colonial government. There were stipulations as to the surrender of criminals, the freedom of roads, the prevention of illicit trade, and the reference of disputes with neighbouring tribes to the mediation of the Cape authorities, contained in the third, seventh, eighth, and tenth clauses of the Maitland treaty of 1844, which the chief practically refused to carry out. In consequence of this, measures were taken to extend the authority of the colony. Messrs. Blyth and Elliot were commissioned to settle the Pondo difficulty, and by them the chiefs of the border clans were invited to transfer their allegiance to the British government, which several of them were very ready to do.

The first who responded to this invitation was the Xesibe chief Jojo, whose clan numbered about four thousand two hundred souls. He had frequently requested British protection against the Pondos, between whom and his people there was a long and bitter feud. The commission of 1872 had made the Xesibes tributary to the Pondos, upon condition that the territory which they occupied should be left to them intact and that the Pondos should deal with them fairly. They complained that these terms had not been observed, and the colonial government then interfered, basing its right to do so upon the thirteenth clause of the Maitland treaty of 1844. Umqikela asserted that Jojo refused to recognise his authority, which compelled him to treat the Xesibes as rebels. Sir Henry Barkly then required Jojo to recognise Umqikela's paramountcy in a formal manner, and in November 1874 Mr. Donald Strachan accompanied the Xesibe messengers to the Pondo chief and was a witness of their payment to him of eight oxen and two horses as a token of their dependence. Umqikela expressed himself satisfied, and promised to treat the Xesibes as his vassals in a just and liberal manner; but the ill-feeling between the

two tribes was too deeply seated to be so easily eradicated, and Mr. Strachan was hardly home when the plundering and retaliation commenced again. From that time there was no intermission of these disorders, while fresh appeals for British protection were made by the Xesibes on every suitable opportunity. On the 8th of July 1878 Jojo and his people were accepted as subjects on the usual terms by Messrs. Blyth and Elliot.

The next to respond was a Hlubi named William Nota, who occupied part of the Rode valley, a narrow wedge of land on the Pondo side of the line, between the districts occupied by Makaula's Bacas and Jojo's Xesibes. Nota was a recent immigrant, and had been appointed by Umqikela headman over a party of Hlubis who occupied the Rode conjointly with some Bacas under the chief Nomtsheketshe and some straggling Xesibes. He had no complaints against the Pondos, but had a vague desire to become a *government man*, like the rest of the Hlubis. On the 22nd of July 1878 he was accepted as a subject by the commissioners, but their act was not confirmed by the government, and Nota was obliged to make his peace again with Umqikela, which did not occasion much difficulty.

Following Nota came Siyoyo, chief of the Amacwera, a clan claiming to be a remote offshoot of the Pondomsi tribe. He was a vassal of the Pondos with, as a matter of course, a feud with his next neighbour, the Pondo clan under Valelo. Siyoyo had applied in 1877 for protection, by which he meant assistance in his quarrel. He now repeated his desire to become a British subject, and on the 5th of August was accepted by the commissioners. As in Nota's case, however, the government declined its ratification, and Siyoyo was obliged to renew his allegiance to Umqikela by formal submission and payment of tribute.

Shortly after this the honourable William Ayliff, who was then secretary for native affairs, visited the country. On the 28th of October 1878 he held a meeting with the Xesibes under Jojo, when he announced that the government

had confirmed the act of the commissioners in receiving them as subjects. Mr. Walter H. Read was at the same time stationed with them as magistrate.

This procedure of the colonial government was felt as a grievance by the Pondos. The feud between the two tribes was deepened by it, and disturbances became even more frequent than previously. In 1879 the Pondo chiefs on the border invaded the district and devastated a large portion of it, burning and destroying the kraals as they advanced. They were only checked by the arrival of a force of two thousand five hundred men, which was hastily raised in the Umzimkulu district, and sent under Mr. Donald Strachan to protect the Xesibes. Umqikela then disowned the acts of the border chiefs, and promised to make good the damage done, but failed to do so when Mr. Strachan's army was disbanded.

During the insurrection of 1880 the Xesibes were an element of trouble, for as soon as the colonial forces were withdrawn from the district the Pondos endeavoured to worry them into open war. Instead of giving help in the field, they were clamouring for assistance themselves. So onerous was their protection to the government that at one time it was in contemplation to remove them altogether, and give them land in one of the other districts, but this plan of settling the question was frustrated by their refusal to migrate.

The encroachments of the Pondos at length compelled the colonial government to lay down a line between the tribes, and in April 1883 a commission consisting of Messrs. C. Brownlee, D. Strachan, C. P. Watermeyer, and J. Oxley Oxland, was appointed for that purpose. Umqikela was invited to coöperate with the commission by sending representatives to assist in defining a boundary, but he declined to do so. His view of the question was tersely summed up in a single sentence in a letter written in his name to the commissioners by his principal adviser and secretary Umhlangaso, who had been educated at a mission institu-

tion: "the paramount chief refuses to recognise the right of the Cape government to make a boundary in Pondoland between himself and rebel subjects, and will rigidly adhere to the boundary as defined by the commission appointed by Sir Henry Barkly in 1872."

The commission was therefore obliged to lay down a line without any assistance. In doing so, it gave to the Pondos all places of doubtful ownership and even several kraals from which Xesibes had recently been expelled but which were then occupied by Pondos.

The government for several years maintained a much larger military force in Mount Ayliff than in any other district between the Kei and Natal. Detachments of both cavalry and infantry were stationed at the seat of magistracy and also at a post named Fort Donald, besides which a strong force of black police was for some time kept up. But the Xesibes were dissatisfied at not receiving still greater protection, though they were such a heavy burden to the Cape Colony. They complained that when they stole from the Pondos the magistrate punished them and compelled them to restore the booty, but that when the Pondos stole from them the government did not see that they got redress, and Umqikela took no notice of representations made through the European officials. They wanted, in short, that in return for calling themselves British subjects and paying a tax of ten shillings a year on each hut the government should either line their border with troops and police, or give them military aid whenever they could make up a plausible case for retaliating on a Pondo kraal.

The district of Mount Ayliff was not formally annexed to the Cape Colony until 1886. An act for the purpose was passed by the parliament in that year, and, after its approval by the queen, was proclaimed in force by the governor on the 25th of October. Previous to that time the supreme court exercised no jurisdiction in the district, and all cases, criminal as well as civil, were tried by the magistrate according to Bantu law. In the same year the

Rode valley, in extent about thirty square miles or seventy-eight square kilometres, was purchased from Umqikela and added to the district, but was not formally annexed to the colony until 1888.

An act passed in 1882 gave the eastern districts court concurrent jurisdiction with the supreme court over the annexed portions of the territories. Persons charged with crimes punishable by death were thereafter sent for trial to the nearest town where a session of the circuit court was held. The magistrates had jurisdiction in all other criminal cases, but their sentences were subject to review by the chief magistrate. Civil cases to any amount were tried in the magistrates' courts, but there was an appeal to either the chief magistrate, the eastern districts court, or the supreme court, as the suitors might elect. In criminal cases an appeal could also be made.

Kokstad, the residence of the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, soon grew to be a town of considerable commercial importance. It is situated in a broad valley on the bank of the Umzimhlava, a tributary of the Umzimvubu. About three miles or nearly five kilometres from the town rises Mount Currie to the height of two thousand three hundred and sixteen metres, or seven thousand six hundred feet above ocean level, a grand object in the landscape. In 1885 Kokstad contained several churches, a first class public school, a bank, and a good many stores and dwelling houses. The purchase by Europeans from Griquas of a considerable number of farms in the district had tended greatly to advance the prosperity of the town.

The population of Griqualand East in 1885 consisted of about three thousand Europeans, ninety thousand Bantu, and three thousand five hundred Griquas and colonial blacks. As in the other territories, the expenditure during the first few years after its being brought under colonial rule was considerably greater than the revenue, but was now every year becoming more nearly equal. About £23,000 was paid in direct taxes in 1885.

The whole territory abandoned by Sir Philip Wodehouse under instructions from the imperial authorities, together with a good many districts that had been occupied by Bantu for several generations, had thus come under the government of the Cape Colony. The three great blocks of land termed chief magistracies—Transkei with six sub-magisterial districts, Tembuland with seven, and Griqualand East with nine—could more properly be termed dependencies of the colony than parts of it. They were not represented in parliament, their civil laws — except when Europeans were concerned — were not those of the people living west of the Kei, there was no possibility now of settling white men in them in sufficient numbers to raise their Bantu occupants speedily to a state of civilisation. That opportunity had been lost for ever. Of what value were they then, or why were they brought under colonial rule?

The answer is that they were taken over from sheer necessity. There could be no security in the colony while tribes of barbarians were almost constantly at war with each other just beyond a fordable river border, and while many thousands of the same race were living in the colony itself. There was no other way of keeping order among them. The danger to be apprehended from extending British authority over them, without taking the cost in money into consideration, was great, but the danger from leaving them to themselves was greater. Prevented from destroying each other in war and on charges of witchcraft, they would increase at an amazing rate, under European rule their old tribal feuds would be forgotten, so that one section could not be used to keep another in submission; but it might be hoped that as new generations came into existence they would learn to appreciate more and more the benefits of peace and righteous government, and would be content to live as obedient subjects. And so they were taken over, and the most strenuous efforts that were possible with so small a European element were put forth to lead them onward in civilisation and prosperity.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL (*continued*).

Pondoland. I.

By those well acquainted with the Xosa, Tembu, and Pondo tribes, and therefore competent to express an opinion, the last named has always been considered the most backward of the three. Perhaps the condition of extreme distress to which the Pondos were reduced in the time of Tshaka — when they had nothing but kilts of reeds and leaves for clothing and were long subject to famine — may have had something to do with this, or it may have been owing to their having had much less intercourse with Europeans, for the three tribes were one in origin, and that at no very distant date. There was a legend known to some of the old men among the Pondos in the early years of the nineteenth century that both the Tembus and the Xosas had branched off from their stem, and this is quite within the bounds of possibility, though it is by no means certain.

The traditions of any tribe cannot be relied upon as accurate for events that occurred more than a century and a half before, when those of three or four tribes can be compared the time may be extended to two centuries, but beyond that all is vague except such a statement as a migration from a far off northern home, which is common to every clan south of the Zambesi. Even in such a matter as the line of descent of great chiefs, much the most important subject in the opinion of a Bantu antiquary, it is necessary to use great caution. Take, for instance, the line of Moshesh. Fifty years ago the Bantu antiquaries did not

pretend to be able to trace it beyond his great grandfather; to-day they connect him with the family of Monaheng. It was necessary in the opinion of some one to make his name great, and so a fictitious pedigree was composed, which soon became accepted as correct. The same thing may have occurred in many tribes, so that tradition unsupported by other evidence is almost useless for historical purposes.

The most that can be said of the three tribes is that almost to a certainty they were not in existence in the middle of the sixteenth century, and that the Abambo were not then in Natal. Some years later there was a perfect whirlwind of barbarous war in the north, when tribes disappeared and great areas were laid waste just as when the Mantati horde swept bare the country along the northern bank of the Vaal. Then, at the close of the sixteenth century the Abambo are found in Natal, and a little later the Pondos, the Tembus, and the Xosas are in existence farther south. But whether the three tribes in advance were actually part of the murderous horde that came down from beyond the Zambesi, destroying everything in its way, exterminating all human beings within its reach except young girls and boys that it incorporated, or whether they were fugitives trying to escape from the terrible Abambo, it is impossible now to say. Only this is certain, that each of these tribes was composed of fragments of many others that became welded together into one in so short a time that their former chiefs, with a single exception, must have perished. Born in the same terrible convulsion, of the same stock, with like careers, there was no radical difference between them, nothing that could make the Tembus and the Xosas superior to the Pondos, except such circumstances as have been indicated above.

The Pondo was now the only independent tribe below the Drakensberg range south of the Tugela. By the word independent, however, it is not implied that the tribe constituted an absolutely sovereign state such as France or Germany, for in the nature of things a petty barbarous

government could not be permitted to do whatever it pleased, even within the limits of its own territory, in opposition to the interests of a powerful civilised neighbour. It was not a compact body, as not only was it divided into two sections, but each contained many vassal clans that could not be kept in perfect submission. The reception of the Xesibe clan and the incorporation of Mount Ayliff, the district that they occupied, with the chief magistracy of Griqualand East has already been related.

In the same year, 1878, another fragment of Pondoland was added to the domain of the Cape Colony. This was at the mouth of the Umzimvubu river, the São Christovão of the Portuguese, where a harbour for shipping not of the largest class is found in the tidal estuary, after the bar at the entrance has been crossed. This estuary had received the name Port St. John's, which was not inappropriate, as near it the galleon *São João* was wrecked in 1552, the terrible sufferings of whose passengers and crew form one of the most tragic narratives in South African history.*

The control of Port St. John's was considered a matter of importance by the colonial government. Through it, if in unfriendly hands, goods could be conveyed to the interior without payment of customs duties, firearms and ammunition might be supplied to all the warriors in Kaffraria. The river divides Pondoland into two nearly equal portions, and the Pondos alone could lay claim to the ground about its mouth. In 1844 the chief Faku entered into a treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, in the eighth clause of which he agreed "that he would not suffer the masters or mariners of any ships or vessels to land merchandise or to traffic with his people in any part of his country, unless such vessels should be furnished with a license from the colonial government authorising them to land goods there."

The treaty was a farce, as all similar agreements with petty barbarous rulers at the same time proved to be, and

* See page 363 of Vol. I of my *History and Ethnography of South Africa from 1505 to 1795.*

it was the only one of them all that had not been cancelled by Sir Harry Smith. By accident rather than by design this had not been done, and the document still remained in existence, practically to be enforced or not, according to what necessity—that is the interests of the whole community as understood by the civilised white man's government—demanded.

Even during the lifetime of Faku the clause of the treaty concerning commerce was not strictly observed. No foreign shipmaster attempted to enter the river, but a coasting trade was opened up by merchants in Natal, who made use of Port St. John's without remonstrance from the government of the Cape Colony. On the 29th of October 1867 Faku died, leaving Umqikela, his great son, paramount chief of the Pondos, and Ndamasi, his son of the right hand, chief of the clans west of the Umzimvubu. Practically Ndamasi was almost independent. It was indeed asserted by some of his adherents that Faku had made him actually independent by promising that the umsila* should never be sent across to the western side of the river. It was satisfactorily proved that no umsila was sent from the great chief's residence to any clan under Ndamasi's government for many years before Faku's death. On the other hand it was maintained that this was only a personal privilege given by Faku to his favourite son, and that it was not intended to indicate a division of the Pondo tribe. This was the view of the case taken by impartial men in the neighbouring tribes, and the balance of Pondo evidence was greatly in its favour. At any rate the paramountcy of Umqikela meant very little more to Ndamasi than an admission that the son of the great house was higher in rank than his elder brother.

The Pondo tribe had incorporated so many alien clans that its division into two, or even into a dozen sections inde-

* The *umsila* is the messenger who carries out sentences of the chief. The word means a tail, and the messenger is so called because he carries as a symbol of his authority the skin of the tail of a lion or leopard—in some tribes of an ox—stretched over a long wand.

pendent of each other, would not cause much difficulty. When Faku died, Ndamasi was an old man, with the reputation of being an intelligent chief, and Umqikela was only thirty-two years of age, a drunkard and without any capacity as a ruler. Under these circumstances, Sir Philip Wodehouse, who wished to secure the mouth of the Umzimvubu for the Cape Colony, applied personally to Ndamasi for it when he visited the country in 1869, but met with a distinct refusal. In 1874 there were some negotiations with regard to a cession of the port, and the Cape government was then willing to make a considerable compensation for it, but nothing came of the matter.

On the 29th of August 1876 Ndamasi died. He was succeeded by his son Nquiliso, who was of about the same age as Umqikela. Nquiliso followed his father's policy in claiming independence of the great house in everything except an admission of its superior rank. Owing to his position, he was more disposed to be friendly to the Cape Colony than was Umqikela, who asserted his rights as paramount chief of the Pondo tribe in language such as James II of England might have used, and with as little inclination as that monarch to adapt his conduct to the necessities of his time.

In 1878 the colonial government considered it imperative to obtain a firmer footing at Port St. John's. Umqikela, the chief of a tribe composed largely of alien clans ready at any moment to transfer their allegiance to some one else, with his authority actually ignored by a very large section of the tribe that claimed independence under another branch of the ruling house, could not be permitted to stand in the way of the adoption of a policy which would affect all South Africa. It cannot fairly be made a charge of injustice against the colonial government that it did not support the pretensions of an unfriendly, incompetent, and drunken chief to an authority which he was altogether unable to enforce.

On the 17th of July 1878 an agreement was made with Nquiliso by Major Elliot, in which that chief ceded to the

government of the Cape Colony all the sovereign rights which he then possessed or was entitled to claim over the waters and navigation of the Umzimvubu, as also of a piece of land on which to erect a custom house and other necessary buildings, such land to be paid for at a fair valuation. He further agreed to roads being made and maintained through the country on his side of the river from the port to the main waggon road from the Cape Colony to Natal. On the other part Nquiliso was acknowledged as independent of Umqikela, from whose attacks he was promised protection as long as he maintained friendly relations with the government of the Cape of Good Hope. This agreement was ratified by the high commissioner, and on the 30th of September the secretary for native affairs in person concluded it by paying to Nquiliso £1,000 for a narrow strip of land on the western side of the river from the sea upwards about nine miles or fourteen kilometres and a half.

A few weeks subsequent to the arrangement between Major Elliot and Nquiliso, General Frederick Thesiger—afterwards Lord Chelmsford,—who on the 4th of March 1878 had succeeded Sir Arthur Cunynghame as commander of the imperial forces in South Africa, under the governor's instructions proceeded from Port Natal to the mouth of the Umzimvubu in her Majesty's ship *Active*. On the 31st of August 1878 he landed, hoisted the English flag, and proclaimed the eastern bank of the river British territory from the lower ford to the sea. The general was accompanied by Major Crealock, Captain Harrison, Assistant Commissary General Pennell, Lieutenant Cameron of the royal engineers, Lieutenant Davis of the royal navy, and the reverend J. Oxley Oxland. A company of the first battalion of the 24th regiment, ten men of the royal engineers, and some seamen were landed to witness the ceremony of hoisting and saluting the flag. Major Elliot and five of Nquiliso's counsellors were also witnesses of the proceedings, though at a distance, for they were stationed on the western bank of

the river opposite the place where the ceremony was performed.

A site was then sought for a fort. General Thesiger selected a spot on the western bank close to the ford now known as Davis' drift. It was about two miles or a little more than three kilometres above the strip of land which Nquiliso had sold, and his counsellors who were present declared that they had no power to cede it. Major Elliot thereupon proceeded to Nquiliso's residence, but found the chief averse to disposing of the site selected for the fort, as he stated he had promised the place to those of his subjects who would lose their gardens in the land already sold. He had no objection, however, to its being occupied temporarily by the troops. General Thesiger left there the company of the 24th under Captain Harrison and the royal engineers under Lieutenant Cameron, and they remained until August 1879, when they were relieved by a company of the 99th regiment. The fort was named by General Thesiger Fort Harrison. It was abandoned and dismantled in 1882, when the Cape infantry then forming the garrison were moved down to the mouth of the river.

At the time of hoisting the flag, the highland on the western side of the mouth was named Mount Thesiger, and that on the eastern side was named Mount Sullivan.

On the 4th of September 1878 the high commissioner Sir Bartle Frere issued a proclamation, in which he charged Umqikela with knowingly harbouring criminals who had committed murder in British territory and refusing to deliver them for trial, sheltering an insurgent Griqua leader for a time and then sending him home with an escort that assisted the rebels, and general unfriendly and hostile conduct; he declined the offer of Umqikela to pay a fine of a thousand head of cattle; he declared that Umqikela would no longer be recognised as paramount chief of the Pondos, but that subordinate chiefs would be allowed to deal directly with the British government; he declared further that Umqikela would not be permitted to exercise any control or authority over the navigation of the Umzimvubu, that the

sovereignty over the port and tidal estuary of that river should be vested thenceforth in her Majesty's government, and that officers would be appointed on behalf of that government to control its navigation and to levy any customs or port dues which it might be necessary to impose. In a notice of the same date it was announced that the customs duties would be the same as those of the Cape Colony.

The imperial government ratified these measures. In a despatch dated 13th of February 1879 Sir Michael Hicks Beach conveyed to Sir Bartle Frere "the approval of her Majesty's government to the establishment of British sovereignty over the port and tidal estuary of St. John's, and of the manner in which that measure has been carried out."

On the 10th of October 1881 letters patent were issued under the great seal of the United Kingdom, empowering the governor to issue a proclamation annexing Port St. John's to the Cape Colony as soon as an act for that purpose should be passed by the Cape parliament. Just before the close of the session of 1884 such an act was brought forward by the ministry. It was read in the house of assembly for the first time on the 16th of July, read the second time and considered in committee on the 17th, and read for the third time on the 18th. In the legislative council it passed through all its stages on the 18th of July. On the 15th of September 1884 the governor issued a proclamation completing the annexation, since which date Port St. John's has been part of the Cape Colony and subject to all its laws.

The population of the annexed territory in September 1884 consisted of three hundred and eight souls, namely one hundred and ten officers and men of the Cape infantry, ninety-two European officials and traders with their families, and one hundred and six Bantu servants. No ground had then been disposed of to private individuals, but several substantial buildings had been erected at different places. The trade had been very small. Most of the goods imported

were brought from Natal in small coasting steamers, that took back hides, horns, and maize obtained from the Pondos. The customs duties collected were in 1879 £499, in 1880 £1,745, in 1881 £1,593, in 1882 £2,251, in 1883 £2,120, and in 1884 £1,963. Captain E. J. Whindus was appointed resident magistrate, port captain, and shipping master in September 1884, and a custom house officer was also stationed there.

At this time Umqikela was provoking the colonial government to take action against him, and jurisdiction would have been extended over the whole of Eastern Pondoland if the imperial authorities had not objected to the occupation of that territory. The chief, who was excessively vain, though without much ability, was in the hands of very bad advisers. Foremost among these was his half-brother Umhlangaso, who had received some education in mission schools, and who was turning it to the worst account. Filled with conceit as a son of Faku, this man was instilling into Umqikela's mind that he was an absolute sovereign and could do whatever he chose in his own dominions without the white man having any right to interfere. Then there was Josiah Jenkins, his nephew, who acted as his secretary. Josiah, when an infant, had been given by Faku to Mrs. Jenkins, the wife of a missionary, who adopted him and brought him up as her own son. He spoke, read, and wrote English with as great fluency as if he had been English born and educated in London. He had given promise of becoming a useful man, had received an excellent training in bookkeeping and correspondence at Lovedale, from his earliest childhood had been accustomed to live as a European of a good class, and was professedly a Christian. This young man, piqued because he could not at once occupy a position in society that a Caucasian would need many years of patient labour to attain, had gone back to Pondoland with an imaginary grievance, and having failed to be recognised as eminent in an intellectual capacity, determined to make himself known as a mischief maker.

The great waggon road from Umtata to Natal ran generally on the Griqualand side of the boundary, but in two places it passed through projecting points of Pondoland. One of these places was close to the Umtata river, in Nquiliso's territory, the other was the Rode, where for about ten miles or sixteen kilometres the road was beyond the Griqualand line. The only right that Umqikela had to the Rode was that derived from the treaty of 1844, and even up to 1881 no Pondos lived there. Previous to that date it was occupied by Bacas and Hlubis. For forty years, or ever since the Maitland treaty, the road had been kept in order by the colonial government or by individual white colonists, without any interference from the Pondo chiefs. But in May 1884 some labourers who were employed by the Cape government to repair it were interfered with by Umqikela's orders, and a letter was written in his name to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, in which he stated that he would not allow any repairs to be made on a road in his country unless his consent was first asked for and obtained.

A few weeks later information was forwarded to Capetown that Umqikela was about to prohibit all commerce between the Cape Colony and Pondoland, and that the traders in his country were in a state of alarm. This information was confirmed by a letter from Umhlangaso to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, dated on the 9th of August, in which he notified that after the 15th of October Umqikela would not allow the passage of armed troops of the colonial government through any part of his country,—that is, along the great waggon road,—and in which he enclosed a proclamation by Umqikela announcing that after the 15th of October a tax of £50 would be levied upon every vehicle conveying merchandise entering or leaving Pondoland from or for the Cape Colony or Port St. John's, that on similar vehicles from Natal a tax varying from 10s. to 50s. would be charged, and that heavy tolls would be levied on the main road.

Almost simultaneously with this, intelligence was received that the advisers of Umqikela were persuading him to try and play off Natal against the Cape Colony, and this too was shortly confirmed by advices from the Natal government to the high commissioner, in which a letter from Umhlangaso, dated on the 11th of August, was forwarded. In this letter Umhlangaso referred to the fact that there was no arrangement for the extradition of criminals, and proposed a treaty with Natal, as the Pondos were very desirous to remain on friendly terms with that colony.

Cattle lifting by the Pondos from the Bacas and the Xesibes was being carried on at this time on a large scale, and in a few instances these people had retaliated.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Jacobus de Wet, who on the 13th of May 1884 became secretary for native affairs, then paid a visit to the country. By his directions the military posts on the border were strengthened, and patrols were ordered out, with strict injunctions, however, under no circumstances to cross the boundary into Pondoland. The Bacas and Xesibes were prohibited not alone from stealing cattle from Pondos, but even from following the spoor of their own cattle, when stolen, across the Pondo line. Captain O'Connor was sent with a letter to Umqikela, explaining the object of strengthening the posts, and expressing a strong desire that the chief would prevent stockstealing from his side and come to a friendly arrangement concerning other matters.

Captain O'Connor was received in a friendly manner by Umqikela, who promised to issue orders against thieving. On the 11th of October a letter was written by Umhlangaso to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, stating that Captain O'Connor's communication was the first one of a friendly nature that had been received from any representative of the colonial government since 1878, that the chief would gladly coöperate in any measure having for its object the peace of the country, and would send strict commands to the border chiefs to prevent stealing. In reply, Mr. De Wet caused Umqikela to be informed that he had received with

great satisfaction the assurances conveyed in his message, that the government was most anxious to arrive at a proper understanding upon all matters causing difficulties between them, that the Xesibes were armed, but would only be permitted to act in self-defence, and that the sole object of stationing troops on the border was to provide an efficient police.

The prospect of a friendly settlement lasted only a few days. On the 25th of October a Pondo army crossed the border in the absence of the colonial forces, and attacked the Xesibes, but was repulsed without much harm being done on either side. On the following day the attack was renewed, when the Pondos were beaten back with heavy loss, very little damage being sustained by the Xesibes. The cause assigned by the Pondos for these raids was that one of their people, named Tamana, had been murdered by the Xesibes on his own ground, and his cattle had been swept off by the murderers. But it was afterwards ascertained that the murder had not been committed by the persons so charged, and that the cattle had been driven in another direction.

Mr. W. E. Stanford and Captain O'Connor were then sent to try to arrange matters with Umqikela. They were to endeavour to obtain an acknowledgment from him of the colonial ownership of Port St. John's, of the right to construct and maintain roads from that port inland, a recognition of the boundary line between the Xesibes and the Pondos, and, what was regarded as more important than any of these, a pledge that no ship not provided with a colonial certificate should be allowed to land goods or carry on trade on the Pondo coast. They were to ascertain what compensation he would require in return for these concessions, and whether he would like to enter into a formal treaty concerning them.

They found Umqikela expressing a desire for peace and friendship, talking, in fact, in the most praiseworthy way, but unwilling to do anything except talk. They ascertained

that pecuniary compensation would not be received for anything. The Pondos would not renounce their claim to Port St. John's, and they wanted the Xesibes removed and the ground occupied by those people given to them, a most unreasonable wish, seeing that the Xesibes were as much entitled as the Pondos themselves to ground somewhere below the old Griqualand East line.

While this attitude was assumed by Umqikela, or perhaps more correctly by his advisers, the condition of Pondoland was one of utter anarchy. The orders of the great chief were everywhere disregarded, drunkenness was rife, and several of the clans were at open war with each other. In a battle between the sub-chiefs Siyoyo and Valelo, the latter was assisted by a large force under one of Nquiliso's brothers, and the former was aided by some of Umqikela's immediate followers.

Umqikela at this time attempted to open a new harbour where entries should be free of the control of either of the colonial governments. If this could be carried out, all efforts on the part of the Cape authorities to prevent munitions of war and spirituous liquors from being supplied to the Bantu in the different territories would be futile, and it was therefore necessary for the colonial government to take some action in its own defence. On the 5th of January 1885 the high commissioner, acting under instructions from the secretary of state for the colonies, proclaimed her Majesty's protectorate over the whole coast of Pondoland.

As regards the toll on the main road, some waggons passing through the Rode were detained, and the owner was obliged to pay under protest before they were released. The matter was then referred to the secretary for native affairs, who informed Umqikela that he was wilfully disturbing the relationship which had previously existed between him and the colonial government, and that by treaty obligations and otherwise he was precluded from establishing tolls upon a road made and used so long by her Majesty's subjects. The act, however, was not resisted by force.

On the 2nd of March 1885 a small vessel named the *Sir Evelyn Wood* arrived at Port Grosvenor, as Umqikela's proposed landing place was termed. The Pondo counsellors Umhlangaso and McNicholas, with a large number of people, were waiting on the beach to see the first cargo landed. On board the vessel was Captain Turner, the owner of the cargo, who went on shore, and announced that he had obtained from Umqikela a monopoly of importing goods through Port Grosvenor. He was met by a man named Rethman, who made exactly the same claim, and produced documents to show that he had obtained the right from Umqikela and had paid for it. There could not have been a better indication of the confusion that would have arisen from the opening of a port on the coast free of all control except that of an ignorant chief. Umhlangaso and McNicholas—a white man then in the chief's favour—could not settle the dispute between Turner and Rethman, so Turner returned on board the vessel and left Port Grosvenor without attempting to land the cargo.

In June 1885 there was a serious disturbance between the Pondos and the Bacas. Three horses were stolen from the Tshungwana mission station, and the spoor was traced into Pondoland. The horses were found at the kraal of Umbali, a Pondomsi, but a sub-chief of Umqikela. Umbali stated that he had taken them from the thieves, but this declaration was not regarded as trustworthy. On the night of the 19th, the day on which the horses were recovered, eighty-eight sheep were stolen from the station. When this was discovered on the morning of the 20th, the Bacas raised the war-cry and followed on the spoor, which led into Pondoland. On the border one of the sheep was found stabbed to death, a circumstance which with Bantu means a challenge to fight. The Bacas pushed on and found a Pondo army drawn up to oppose them. Just at this time one of the stolen sheep made its escape and ran towards its accustomed pasture. At sight of this the Bacas charged, and a battle ensued, in which the Pondos lost nine men

and the Bacas had three killed and three wounded. The Pondos were beaten, and two of their kraals were burnt by the victors.

As this battle took place on Pondo ground, Umqikela asserted that the Bacas were the aggressors, and asked for a commission of inquiry. The government acceded to his request, and Messrs. J. T. Wylde and W. G. Cumming were appointed commissioners. They met the Pondos sent by Umqikela to represent him, and on the 29th and 31st of August an investigation took place. The Pondo commissioners were dumfounded by the evidence of one of their own witnesses, Umbali the border chief. In trying to clear himself of the charges made by the Bacas, he asserted that the thefts complained of had not been committed by his people but by Pondos living farther from the line, who had driven the stolen cattle through his kraal. It was clearly proved that while no efforts were made by the Pondos to suppress cattle-lifting, there were no cases in which theft from Pondos by Bacas had not been redressed. With this issue of the investigation, it might be supposed that Umqikela would have done something to prevent similar cases in future, but nothing of the kind happened.

Early in October the chief magistrate of Griqualand East reported that numerous stock thefts were being committed by the Pondos from the Xesibes, and that there were several instances of Pondos crossing the line and making gardens on Xesibe ground. Umqikela had sent him a letter informing him that he would take no steps to prevent thefts from the Xesibes.

At this time a deputation from the Pondo tribe visited Capetown, with the object of trying to obtain from the high commissioner redress for what they regarded as grievances. The deputation consisted of Mr. Donald Strachan and three other Europeans, with Umhlangaso and five other Pondos. On the 27th of October they had an interview with the high commissioner in presence of two members of the ministry. Their grievances were the occupation of Port

St. John's and the annexation of the Xesibe district. In the plainest language, and over and over again, his Excellency informed them that these questions could not be reopened, but that in all other matters the government was prepared to act most liberally towards them. They continued, however, to harp upon these subjects, contended that the government might remove the Xesibes by force and give them the ground, and persistently declined to deal with any other matter until these questions were settled in their favour.

Nothing therefore came of the conference, but a little later an arrangement was made by the secretary for native affairs that the deputation upon its return to Pondoland should call a meeting of the tribe and ascertain whether the people would consent to arrange all differences, letting the questions of the Xesibe district and Port St. John's be considered as finally closed. If this were agreed to, Mr. De Wet undertook to proceed to Pondoland and deal with Umqikela in the most liberal manner. The deputation then left Capetown and returned home.

The arrival of Umhlangaso in Pondoland was the signal for a renewal of the border disturbances. There was a Hlubi headman named William Nota living in the Rode from a date several years before the Pondo occupation of that district. This man was on friendly terms with the Bacas, which was sufficient cause to bring on him Pondo vengeance. Some horses were stolen by Pondos from the Bacas beyond the Rode, and when the Bacas retaliated Nota gave the Pondos no assistance. To draw Nota's people on, a pretended quarrel at a beer-drinking party was arranged by Josiah Jenkins, and the Hlubis were then attacked. But the Pondos got more than they expected. After Nota was harassed for several days, on the 16th of November the Baca chief Nomtsheketshe crossed the border to his aid, and Josiah was driven away from the Rode. Several Pondo kraals were looted. Other forces then arrived, and in turn Nota was obliged to flee.

The chief magistrate of Griqualand East called upon Umqikela to cause hostilities to cease, and reminded him that he had given a guarantee to treat Nota fairly. To this Umqikela replied on the 21st of November that Nota could not return to the Rode before an investigation took place, and on the 12th of December he sent his messenger Bulawako to say that Nota had forfeited all right to his former place of residence. He requested that the Hlubi headman should be removed to British territory, as he was still holding a position on the Pondo side of the line, or that the Bacas should be restrained from helping him while the Pondos drove him out. And on the 28th of November the ground which Nota had occupied in the Rode was given to a party of Griquas in a formal document signed by Umhlangaso for Umqikela.

At this time a solitary act of justice occurred on the part of the Pondos. Three head of cattle which had been stolen from some Xesibes were restored by the Pondo chief Umdutshana, and the thieves were fined a goat and a sheep.

For some months apprehensions had been felt that a coalition between Umqikela and Nquiliso was impending. McNicholas was exerting himself to bring this about, and there were indications that Nquiliso was less friendly to the colonial government than he once had been. The principal of these was that he had closed the main road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad which ran through a projecting point of his territory bordering on the Umtata river, thus causing all traffic to make a detour of several kilometres. After the purchase from him of the little slip of land at the mouth of the Umzimvubu, a road from the port towards Umtata had been constructed for a short distance, but the work had then been suspended. Nquiliso now maintained that the colonial government, having done nothing to it for so many years, had lost its right to construct a new road to Umtata according to the original agreement. He admitted the right of the government to use the old road from the port to Umtata, but not to make a new one. The old road

was much longer than was necessary, and was so steep in places that it was of little use. Another unsatisfactory matter was the virtual protection given by the Western Pondos to cattle thieves.

It seemed to the government a matter of much importance to maintain a good understanding with Nquiliso, and the secretary for native affairs therefore had a conference with him on the eastern bank of the Umtata on the 7th of December 1885. The chief magistrates of Tembuland and Griqualand East were present at the meeting. Nquiliso was attended by his counsellors and a considerable number of people. Mr. De Wet stated that it was his earnest desire to be on the most friendly terms with the Western Pondos, and he felt confident that they were similarly disposed. There was no grave subject of difference between them, but there were some minor matters causing irritation; these he would mention, and they could then discuss them amicably. He brought forward the subjects above named.

Nquiliso replied that the reason the great eastern road running through the point of his territory had been closed was because the redwater disease had got among his cattle through it. For this reason also his people did not wish a new road opened from Port St. John's to Umtata. With regard to giving protection to cattle thieves, he complained that people living in colonial territory stole from him without his obtaining any redress, and he mentioned Pali, chief of the Amatshezi, as the great offender in this respect. He spoke a good deal about the right of the Western Pondos to independence of Umqikela.

The secretary for native affairs in reply brought to Nquiliso's notice that the redwater was already everywhere in the country, that closing old roads or preventing new ones being opened would not eradicate it, that although the roads were made and kept in repair at the exclusive cost of the Cape Colony the Pondos had as much right to use them as British subjects had, and that steps would be taken to compel Pali to abstain from annoying his neighbours,

though that chief was not altogether under colonial authority. He wished Nquiliso and his people to consent to the construction by the government of a road from Port St. John's to Umtata wherever it could be made most easily, with a branch in the direction of Shawbury; to sell the few kilometres of the main road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad which was in their territory; and to agree to the mutual surrender of fugitive thieves. He was asking them for no privileges for British subjects in their territory, he said, which he was not prepared to give to Pondos—which in fact they already had—in the Cape Colony. He desired them to discuss these questions among themselves before giving a reply, and if they needed any further explanations to ask Major Elliot for them. As for the claim of the Western Pondos to be entirely independent of Umqikela, the colonial government had dealt with Nquiliso as an independent chief ever since 1878, and would continue to do so.

Nquiliso and his people left the meeting on the best of terms with the secretary for native affairs, and the result was that after some negotiation through Major Elliot, they gave their approval to the construction of the best road that could be made from Port St. John's to Umtata with a branch towards Shawbury, agreed to sell the portion of the great eastern road which was in their territory for £15, and consented to the extradition of runaway cattle thieves.

The position of the Amatshezi chief Pali was an obstacle to dealing with the Western Pondos in a satisfactory manner. His clan had come down from the far north during the time of the Zulu conquests, and had been located by the Tembu chief Vusani on a tract of land west of the Umtata and close to the coast. For half a century the Amatshezi had been living there, nominally in a state of vassalage to the Tembus, but really in a condition of independence. When Gangelizwe ceded Tembuland, Pali ignored the new authorities. The position which he assumed interfered with the course of justice. Complaints

of robberies committed by his people, and even of murders, were frequently made by British subjects who believed themselves entitled to redress by the government.

Pali was therefore required to submit. Nquiliso willingly assisted to bring him to terms, by closing the fords of the Umtata against him and supplying an armed force to drive him back if he should attempt to make his escape. The Galeka chief Kreli, who was then living on a tract of land in Elliotdale purchased by the government from the Bomvana chief Langa, son of Moni, and given to him as a location, did the same on the other side. A company of the Cape mounted rifles marched to the neighbourhood of his kraal, when Pali, finding himself surrounded and unsupported, made his submission to Major Elliot, chief magistrate of Tembuland. On the 30th of May 1886 an agreement was entered into with him, by which he admitted himself to be a British subject. He was placed under the jurisdiction of the resident magistrate of Mqanduli, and thereafter his people were liable to punishment for crime. They behaved tolerably well, and one of the standing difficulties in the government of the country and the maintenance of friendly relations with the Western Pondos was surmounted by their subjection to colonial authority.

After the conference with Nquiliso, the secretary for native affairs proceeded on his tour. As no intimation had reached him that the Eastern Pondos were willing to come to terms, he concluded that it would not only be useless but a sacrifice of self respect to visit Umqikela. To leave every avenue open for an accommodation of the differences, however, he caused a message to be sent to the chief that he would be in Kokstad from the 10th to the 14th of December, and would be prepared to receive and deal with any communications from him.

On the 9th of December 1885 Mr. De Wet met Josiah Jenkins at Nceba. Josiah complained of the assistance given by the Bacas to William Nota, and stated that Umqikela's decision was that Nota had forfeited all rights

as a Pondo subject. In Umqikela's name he asked that the government should remove Nota from Pondo territory or restrain the Bacas from interfering while the Pondos drove him out. Mr. De Wet replied that he was ready to assist in a friendly and peaceable arrangement of matters in connection with the disturbances in the Rode, but from what he had just heard, as well as from earlier information, it was clear that Umqikela, without considering Nota's version of what had taken place, had given his decision, and under these circumstances he did not see how he could take part in a settlement. The government would not remove Nota, nor could he admit that Umqikela had a right to drive that headman and his people into colonial territory. Any advances made by the Pondos towards a reasonable solution of the difficulties would be promptly met by the government.

On the 19th of December Umqikela sent a message to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, intimating his willingness to treat on other terms than those demanded by the deputation in Capetown, and asking that a commissioner should be sent, as the chiefs and people were prepared to assemble and discuss matters. Thereupon Mr. W. E. Stanford was appointed commissioner, and Umqikela fixed the 7th of January 1886 as the day of meeting. The first object which the government had in view was the protection of the boundary, and it was therefore necessary to induce Umqikela to prevent cattle thefts by punishing the thieves. It was necessary also to induce him to remove all restrictions from legitimate trade. In addition to these objects, Mr. Stanford was instructed to endeavour to purchase the Rode, including the main road through it, and he was authorised to offer £3,000 for its cession. He was further authorised to offer Umqikela £2,000 as compensation for the loss of presents which he at one time received from persons landing cargo at Port St. John's, provided the Pondos would acknowledge the right of the colonial government to the port and grant the further right to construct

and maintain roads to Kokstad with necessary outspans from any ports that might be opened in Eastern Pondoland. Such roads were to be without tolls, and Pondos were also to have the free use of them. Mr. Stanford was authorised to raise his offer to £7,000 in all, rather than allow negotiations to fall through.

Mr. Stanford was at Umqikela's kraal on the 7th as arranged, but was kept waiting until the 11th, when the leading chiefs and counsellors of the tribe assembled, and the conference commenced. It was at once evident that the Pondos were unwilling to discuss any questions whatever or to enter into arrangements of any kind until the government conceded their demands with regard to the Xesibe district and Port St. John's. Argument on the part of the commissioner and of Mr. Donald Strachan, continued throughout the 12th, was of no avail. Umqikela himself appeared willing to yield, but Umhlangaso was obstinate. All that Mr. Stanford could effect was to obtain Umqikela's promise to issue orders that Pondos stealing from Bacas were to be punished, but the chief repeated the statement he had already made by letter, that no Xesibe stock traced into Pondoland would be restored while the question of Jojo and his people being taken over by the colonial government remained unsettled.

On the 8th of February a party of Pondos fired across the Umzimvubu at a kraal on the Mount Frere side occupied by the headman Nomtsheketshe, and wounded a young man named Siwene. The act was entirely unprovoked. Nomtsheketshe's people assembled and returned the fire, but though a good deal of powder was burned on both sides, no further damage was done.

On the same day Umhlangaso, who professed that he had been instructed by Umqikela to investigate the cause of the disturbances in the Rode, attacked William Nota and drove him into Gogela's location on the Griqualand side of the border. Gogela's people, Nomtsheketshe's Bacas, and some others went to Nota's assistance, when the Pondos

fell back over the boundary. The allies of Nota followed them, and a battle took place on the Pondo side of the line, in which some ten Pondos and fifteen Bacas were killed. Two days later Umhlangaso wrote to the chief magistrate that he was to keep William Nota and his people in Griqualand East, as the Pondos did not want him and would not have him.

For some time the policy of the Eastern Pondo chiefs had been to drive into Griqualand East all persons who would not fuse with their tribe. Independently of the Bacas, the Pondomsis, the Xesibes, and the people of Alfred county in Natal, a very large proportion of those who had been subjected to Pondo supremacy by the treaty of 1844 were unwilling to become Pondos in reality. In recent years great numbers of these had been accused of dealing in witchcraft, and had fled for their lives to the already crowded locations on the colonial side of the boundary. This was what the Pondos desired that the Xesibes should do. They did not want the people, but the ground which they occupied. The Pondos were, like all Bantu tribes in a condition of comparative peace, increasing in number so rapidly that they desired territory to expand upon, and in this manner they were acquiring it.

They were therefore desirous that William Nota should be provided for by the colonial government. But the great permanent difficulty with the European authorities was to provide ground for their own subjects, who were increasing at an amazing rate; and they could not be burdened with refugees from Pondoland. There was no vacant space on which Nota's people could be located, and a remonstrance against his expulsion was therefore sent to Umqikela, though it was deemed inexpedient to maintain him in the Rode by force. Just previously the number of Bacas and Xesibes to whom rifles had been issued was increased to a thousand of each tribe, and the colonial forces on the border had been strengthened with a view of trying to prevent the constant disturbances.

On the 21st of March a theft of two horses by Pondos from Xesibes led to a reprisal, upon which a Pondo army was mustered, and the Xesibe country was invaded. The Xesibes hastened to meet the invaders, and a skirmish took place, in which the Pondos were repulsed with a loss of twenty-two killed. The Xesibe loss was less, and they followed up the fugitives and burnt several kraals.

On the 25th of March the Baca chief Makaula raised a strong force, with which he took possession of the Rode and restored to William Nota the ground from which he had been expelled. He then announced his intention to keep possession of the remainder of the Rode; but the secretary for native affairs required him to return to Mount Frere, and informed him that munitions of war had been supplied to the Bacas to defend themselves on their own ground and not for aggressive purposes. The government, he added, could not countenance an invasion of Pondo territory.

NOTE.—That the Pondos are the most backward in civilisation of all the tribes between the river Kei and Natal is shown by their comparative disregard of the education of their children in mission schools. In this respect the Fingos are the most advanced. In 1904 there were in Transkei 245 schools, attended by 12,441 children, in Tembuland 225 schools, attended by 7,449 children, in Griqualand East 289 schools, attended by 11,577 children, and in Pondoland only 90 schools, attended by 2,269 children. In these statistics, taken from the census returns of 1904, European children and schools attended solely by them are included, but their number is not very large. There is no reason why there should not be as many children receiving the benefit of primary education in Pondoland as in Transkei except the lack of interest on the part of the parents.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ANNEXATION TO THE CAPE COLONY OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RIVER KEI AND THE BORDER OF NATAL (*continued*).

Pondoland. II.

Such raids and skirmishes as those of which an account is given in these chapters were ordinary occurrences in the life of all independent Bantu tribes. They provided that occasional excitement which people of every race are fond of, and they served the useful purpose of keeping up the bodily vigour and courage of the adult males. To some extent also they were a check upon too rapid an increase of population, though as the loss of life was almost confined to men, in a state of society where polygamy prevailed this effect was not very marked. But natural as such a state of things seemed to the Bantu, it could not be regarded with complacency by the European authorities where half the actors were British subjects, and any accident might cause the disturbances to spread far into British territory. It would not have been tolerated as long as it was, had not the imperial government refused to consent to an act apparently so high-handed as the summary substitution of colonial authority for that of the Pondo chief.

So matters went on as before, with an occasional lull in cattle lifting and skirmishes, and now and again a brief effort on the part of the Pondo ruler to accommodate himself to the opinions of the white man. Thus on the 6th of May 1886 Umqikela issued a notice withdrawing his order imposing duties on waggons coming from the Cape Colony and tolls on the main road. The secretary

for native affairs at once informed him that this action was accepted as an indication of the chief's wish to arrive at a satisfactory and permanent settlement of the relations between him and the colony, and that the government trusted he would give effect to his pacific intentions by appointing an early day for the meeting of his delegates with representatives of the colony for the purpose of arranging matters.

The fair prospect of an amicable settlement was, however, almost immediately clouded by the action of Umhlangaso, who threatened an invasion of the Xesibe district, and openly made preparations for war. Thereupon Lieutenant Sampson was sent to Umqikela to inform him that "an invasion of the Xesibe country or any other portion of colonial territory by an organised force of Pondos would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the colony." This message was delivered on the 18th of June. As the hostile preparations and threats of Umhlangaso continued, a large quantity of arms and ammunition was sent to the frontier posts, and the military force in Griqualand East was increased to three hundred and twenty-three effective combatants.

On the 3rd of August four head of cattle were stolen from a Xesibe named Rumka. The spoor was traced towards Pondoland, and on the following day Rumka and his friends seized in reprisal four cows and twenty-five goats belonging to the clan of the Amanci under Qipu, who were afterwards discovered to have been free of guilt in the original theft. The war-cry was raised, the Xesibes were pursued, one of them was wounded, and both Xesibes and Amanci collected on the boundary. The magistrate of Mount Ayliff proceeded to the scene and induced the Xesibes to retire from the border. The Amanci, joined by the people of Tshetsha and some others, then invaded the Xesibe district, but were met by a well organised force and driven back. On the border they took to flight, but were pursued by the Xesibes, when over a hundred of them were killed,

sixty-eight of the Amanci being among the number. The conquerors burnt twenty kraals and took possession of about two hundred head of cattle, which, however, were restored to Qipu as soon as those taken from Rumka were given up.

On the 19th of August Umqikela's secretary addressed a letter to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, in which he said: "The paramount chief of Pondoland desires me to inform you that in consequence of the invasion of Pondoland on the 6th instant and massacre of over a hundred of his people by an army of Bacas and Xesibes, he must now consider the necessity of declining all further communications with the government of the Cape Colony or its officials pending an appeal to the high commissioner, as according to the message of that government delivered by Lieutenant Sampson any invasion of the Xesibe country or any other portion of colonial territory by an organised force of Pondos would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the colony, an organised force of Xesibes and Bacas having invaded Pondoland, the chief considers the Cape government has declared war upon the Pondos."

The difficulty was increased at this time by the action of outside parties, which led the Pondos to believe that the Europeans were divided among themselves. In August a deputation from the *Kokstad Political Association* visited Umqikela, with the object of obtaining the coöperation of the Pondos in petitioning the imperial government to send out a commission of inquiry and form a crown colony of Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, Pondoland, and Basutoland. Messrs. Passmore and Fowle, who formed the deputation, were received in a friendly manner, but failed in the object of their mission.

There had been some correspondence between Umqikela's secretary and Mr. H. Escombe, of Durban, concerning Pondoland being taken under the protection of Natal, the object being to play off one colony against the other. This did little harm, but on the 18th of October the legislative

council of Natal adopted without a division an address to the lieutenant-governor as follows: "The legislative council beg respectfully to request your Excellency to take such measures as your Excellency may deem fit for the union of Pondoland to Natal, and that your Excellency will inform the secretary of state for the colonies that this colony protests against any and all proposals for the political separation of the two countries."

In July Umqikela had proposed to the secretary for native affairs that the matters in dispute between the Cape government and the Pondos should be submitted to the decision of a board of arbitrators, and named as his representatives Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Colonel Charles Duncan Griffith, and Mr. John James Irvine. In reply, Mr. De Wet desired to be informed what matters he wished to submit to arbitration. The grievances which the Cape government had against the Pondos were that they stole cattle from the Xesibes and Bacas, and refused to restore them. This matter was surely no subject for arbitration, and should be settled by the chief. The other matters upon which negotiations had taken place—the extension of British sovereignty over Mount Ayliff and Port St. John's and the offer to purchase the Rode—were not subjects for arbitration, and on these grounds the government declined to entertain the proposal, but any offer made by the chief would receive due consideration.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone was then appealed to by the Pondos for advice, but expresssd his unwillingness to interfere in any way without the consent of the Cape government. The whole correspondence in connection with the matter was then forwarded by the lieutenant-governor of Natal to the secretary of state for the colonies, who, on the 20th of September, wrote as follows:

"You will perceive that the so-called claims of the Pondos consist chiefly in demands that the St. John's river mouth territory should be receded to them, and that the Xesibes or their country should be given up to them. The St. John's river mouth territory has for some years

been incorporated with the Cape Colony, and by a decision of my immediate predecessor the same course has now been taken with the Xesibe country. The demands of the Pondos, as expressed by their European advisers, are therefore clearly inadmissible, and nothing remains for them but to adopt the offers made by the Cape government and the high commissioner that they should treat on the basis of receiving a pecuniary solatium in consideration of what it has rightly or wrongly been deemed necessary on grounds of policy to take from them. Indeed I have some reason to believe, from information placed before me within the last few days, that the Pondos and their advisers are preparing to depart from the impracticable attitude assumed by them during the conference at Capetown in October 1885. In these circumstances it would only seem to retard a satisfactory solution of the pending difficulties if the Pondos were to appear to receive encouragement from any persons of authority outside the immediate circle of those hitherto concerned with the negotiations."

In August six head of cattle were stolen from the Bacas by the people of the petty chief Magatyana, who refused to restore them. The Bacas then made a reprisal, by burning four of Magatyana's kraals, seizing nineteen head of cattle, and killing one Pondo.

In November the government caused a return of thefts of cattle during the period from the 1st of November 1884 to the 31st of October 1886 to be made up as accurately as possible by the officers on the border. They showed that eight hundred and seventy-six head had been taken by the Pondos from the Xesibes and Bacas, of which one hundred and thirty-eight head had been recovered. Five hundred and ninety-one head had been taken by the Xesibes and Bacas from the Pondos, of which four hundred and seventy head had been restored. The balance against the Pondos was six hundred and seventeen head.

Rumours that Umhlangaso was threatening to attack the Xesibes had been rife for many months, but it was hoped that the strengthening of the military posts on the border and the issue of arms to the Bacas and Xesibes would prevent his threats being put into execution. On the 20th of October, however, a Pondo force at the lowest estimate four thousand strong, in five divisions, led by Ketshwayo, Umqikela's eldest son, assisted by Umhlangaso and other men

of position in the tribe, invaded the Xesibe country. The Xesibes, taken by surprise, made a very feeble resistance, their attention being mainly directed to driving their cattle to places of safety. The attack was made so suddenly that there was not time to bring the Cape mounted riflemen against the invaders, who retired at five o'clock in the afternoon, having burnt about fifty Xesibe kraals. Three Xesibes were killed and three wounded, and twelve Pondos were killed.

Bags containing food were found with the Pondo corpses, indicating that the expedition had been thoroughly organised. It was afterwards ascertained that an army of about fifteen thousand men had been assembled at Emfundisweni, where it was divided into two sections. One of these marched against the Xesibes, the other was intended to operate against the Bacas and those border clans who though nominally Pondo vassals were known by the Pondo chiefs to be hostile at heart. Owing to jealousy and division among themselves, the last section had done nothing, while the first had carried out the task assigned to it. This great army had been collected from all the genuine Pondo kraals east of the Umzimvubu except one large clan which was left to watch Port St. John's.

As soon as the intelligence reached Kokstad, the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, taking with him all the Cape mounted riflemen available, hastened to the Xesibe country. He found the Xesibes somewhat dispirited, owing to the large destruction of their huts and household effects and the strength of the force opposed to them. The Pondos were encamped behind some ridges well within their own territory, and showed themselves on the 21st, but did not approach the border again.

On the 24th of October the government directed a corps of six hundred men to be raised in the district of Umzimkulu to strengthen the military force in the Xesibe country, and volunteers to be enrolled and held in readiness to move wherever required. The secretary for native affairs, when

authorising this, stated that "whilst the government felt it to be their duty to defend her Majesty's subjects in their own country, and to inflict by all the means at their command the severest possible punishment upon the Pondos when they invade British territory, it was their wish for the present not to invade Pondoland." He added that while the regular forces should therefore be forbidden to cross the boundary, it would be dangerous to put too much strain upon the Bacas and Xesibes, for by so doing their loyalty might be destroyed.

It was expected every moment that the Pondos would make another attack. According to reports, the Basuto were about to aid the Pondos, and the Pondomsi chief Umhlonhlo was pledged to do the same. On the other hand, several Pondo vassal chiefs sent to assure the chief magistrate of Griqualand East that they would not fight against the colonial government. Tshatsha, a Pondo vassal, allied himself with the Bacas, and William Nota's clan was armed on the government side.

On the 28th of October three hundred more men were enrolled in the Umzimkulu district and sent to the Pondo-Xesibe border. Horsemen were paid three shillings and footmen two shillings a day, on condition that they could be disbanded at any time on a week's notice. All available Cape mounted riflemen were at the same time ordered to proceed to the scene of disturbance with as little delay as possible. As soon as a sufficient force should be concentrated on the border, it was the intention of the colonial government to make a formal demand upon Umqikela to explain his conduct in reference to the invasion of British territory by the Pondo forces on the 20th of October, and eventually for such reparation as might be decided upon.

On the 29th of October some three or four hundred Xesibes made a rapid dash into Pondoland, burnt the kraals of the chief Ntola, and killed two Pondos, with a loss to themselves of one man wounded. On the same day a public meeting was held at Kokstad to discuss the situation of

affairs, when seventy Griquas offered their services to the government, of whom fifty were enrolled and sent to the front.

By the 5th of November the government had a sufficient force on the Pondo-Xesibe border to ensure superiority in strength in case the Pondos should attempt another invasion, and on that day Mr. Stanford was directed to send to Umqikela the following message:

After many gross outrages committed by your people against persons resident in colonial territory, notwithstanding the efforts made by the colonial government to establish a lasting peace on the Pondo border, you were informed in March last that your hostile acts could be tolerated no longer, and you were then warned that any invasion of the Xesibe country or any other part of colonial territory by an organised force would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the colony. In defiance of that warning your people have not only continued to commit outrages upon the life and property of her Majesty's subjects in colonial territory, but acting on a preconceived plan a large organised and equipped force of your people collected at and about the great place, and marched under your own personal command to Emfundisweni, where the command was transferred to your two sons and Umhlangaso, your chief counsellor, for the purpose of invading colonial territory. Subsequently that force on the 20th ultimo, headed as mentioned above, deliberately and wantonly invaded colonial territory, committed murder, and destroyed many huts and much property. Under these circumstances the government is now bound to call upon you to give in writing an explanation of your open declaration of war together with such offer of reparation and proposals for the future control of your people as you may wish to make, such writing or written reply to be delivered to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East at such place as he may appoint within four days from the receipt of this message. In case of your failure so to do, or in case your explanation, offer, and proposals be not deemed by the colonial government to be satisfactory, you are hereby warned that upon you rest the consequences."

The display of force had the effect of causing several chiefs to tender their services to the government. Dalindyebo offered the chief magistrate of Tembuland to call out any number of his Tembus that might be required. The Galeka chief Kreli sent to Major Elliot to say that he was ready to obey the orders of the government to the utmost of his power. One chief in Western Pondoland and four of the most powerful Eastern Pondo vassals sent word to say that in case

Pondoland should be invaded by the government forces they would assist them. Possibly, however, some of these might have proved untrustworthy. At the call of the resident magistrate of Matatiele, George Moshesh joined the Abalondolozi* with a considerable following.

The Amanci chief Qipu sent the following message to Umqikela: "I shall now hand myself and people over to the colonial government. My people and brothers have been killed in a fight with government people brought about by Pondo thieves who still have the cattle in their possession. Had you come into collision with the colonial government on some question which justified your going to war I would have loyally supported you and fought to the last on your side, but I cannot fight for a country governed by thieves and in a thieves' war."

In his reply to Qipu, Umqikela threw upon Umhlangaso the blame for the condition of the country; but in his answer to the government message delivered to him on the 7th of November he assumed another tone. He at first asked for an extension of the four days allowed him for consideration, as he said that period was too short for consultation with his sub-chiefs. The time was then extended to the 13th of November. On the 11th his counsellors, with Umhlangaso and the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, had a meeting at Emfundisweni, and on the 13th the following letter was delivered to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East by a deputation consisting of the counsellors Notanda and Bulawako with six attendants, the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, and Mr. Bowles, a trader in Pondoland:

"In your message to me I am accused of having equipped, organised, and collected at the great place a force to invade colonial territory. This I deny for the following reasons: according to our custom when an army leaves the great place to invade a foreign territory certain ceremonies have to be gone through, which have existed for time immemorial and are well known to both black and white. Presuming that you refer to the attack on the 20th ultimo upon the Xesibe kraals, I can call many white inhabitants to prove that the custom ukwelapa† was not gone

*The Protectors, the name assumed by the Bantu levies under Commandant Donald Strachan.

†Ukwelapa is the ceremony of preparing the army for war by the tribal priest.

through. How then can I *personally* be charged with having organised as stated, as I did not leave the great place for some days after, and when I heard that my son Ketshwayo had started I sent a special messenger telling him to return. The truth is my people were uncontrollable, as they were smarting under a defeat in which one hundred and twenty-nine of my people the Amanci were killed by the Xesibes. I beg to assure you of my sincere desire to maintain, as my forefathers have ever done, peace and good will towards the Cape colonial government, and I sincerely trust that this feeling is reciprocated. For this reason I must ask you to consent to an extension of time to consult with my chiefs and headmen. As I cannot thoroughly comprehend what you mean by reparation, may I solicit the favour of your appointing a commission to meet my subordinate chiefs and indunas at any convenient place within a reasonable time to fully consider all matters referred to in your communication, which will I trust be the means of bringing about a lasting peace and of placing all matters political and otherwise upon a satisfactory basis. I crave this indulgence and extension of time to thoroughly consider all the points referred to in your message, so that should my wish be granted I have no doubt the delay will mutually be productive of good."

This letter, though written in Umqikela's name, was the production of a European, as its phraseology shows. Josiah Jenkins was not its author. But if there is sometimes a difficulty in dealing with barbarians who are prompted by clever white men, there is often an advantage in being able to ascertain at once all the strong points in an adverse case. It was so in this instance. War, according to the writer of the letter, had not been intended by the chief, or the army would certainly have been prepared for it in the only manner known to the Bantu, for according to their ideas it was as necessary that a warrior should be fortified for battle as that he should carry weapons of offence. But the weak point on this occasion was that the advisers of the chief had induced him to omit the ceremony purposely to furnish him with a plea thereafter, and dependence had been placed on overwhelming numbers rather than on immunity from harm by the enemy.

The government agreed to an extension of time for the purposes indicated. On the 24th of November a great meeting was held at Umqikela's residence, but it was not attended by the border chiefs. On the 29th Umqikela sent a message to Mr. Stanford, chief magistrate of Griqualand

East, asking that officer to meet him or his representatives on the 2nd of December, and it was arranged that the conference should take place at Fort Donald in the Xesibe district.

There were various disquieting circumstances at the time, which prevented the government from reducing the large force assembled on the border. Certain Europeans were instigating the Pondos to pursue a course which could only end in disaster to the tribe while involving the Cape Colony in difficulties, and their advice was listened to by some of the chiefs. Then there was a general slaughter of the swine, which was afterwards ascertained to have been caused by fear of disease, but which at the time was believed by many to be a superstitious act such as those which occur before every war. On the 15th of November Umqikela's eldest son Ketshwayo—the same who commanded in the raid of the 20th of October—died suddenly, and it was generally supposed that his death would have a disquieting effect.

On the 2nd of December Mr. Stanford was at Fort Donald, but Umqikela did not arrive. It had been raining very heavily, and the excuse which he sent was that his sub-chiefs had not been able to assemble. Umhlangaso and the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, who appeared for the chief, stated that the Pondos were anxious to discuss all matters in dispute, and requested Mr. Stanford to postpone the conference to the 6th and consent to its taking place at Emfundisweni, where they said Umqikela would meet him. Mr. Stanford agreed to the postponement, which was inevitable; but for obvious reasons could not agree to Emfundisweni as the place of meeting. He proposed Ntola's kraal, about twenty minutes ride beyond the border, and this the Pondo delegates agreed to.

As a chief of Umqikela's rank could not travel in his own country without a large following, and as it was certain that on this occasion the Pondos would be armed and appear in great strength, Mr. Stanford took with him all the forces on the border, to show that while the colonial government was desirous of peace, it was prepared for war if war must come.

The Pondo delegates were informed of the course that would be taken, in order to protect the government against the charge of marching an armed force into Pondoland, which the chiefs would be sure to make in the event of a disturbance.

In view of the negotiations which were about to take place, Mr. Stanford was informed by the secretary for native affairs that "the questions of the annexation of the Xesibe country and of Port St. John's must be looked upon as closed books." Since 1878 that position had been maintained by both the imperial and the colonial governments, and it could not be receded from. The government, however, was still prepared to carry out its former offers of a solatium with respect to these matters, if the Pondos should be willing to arrange the questions of raids and thefts satisfactorily.

On the 6th of December Mr. Stanford arrived at Ntola's kraal. Colonel Bayly selected a site for a camp for the Cape mounted riflemen near the Kokstad side of the kraal, and the Abalondolozi under Commandant Strachan took up a position in the rear. A little later Umqikela's sons Sigcawu and Hamu, accompanied by Umhlangaso and other chiefs, and attended by about two thousand armed followers, arrived at the kraal. The chiefs with the reverend Mr. Hargreaves and fifty unarmed men rode to the camp, and greeted Mr. Stanford and Colonel Bayly. Umhlangaso expressed regret that owing to illness Umqikela was unable to keep the appointment he had made, and informed the chief magistrate that he and Umqikela's sons had been authorised to open the discussion. Mr. Stanford inquired if they had full authority from Umqikela to treat. Umhlangaso replied that they had not, as it was uncertain whether Umqikela might not still be able to be present. Mr. Stanford said that under these circumstances he must decline to recognise them as representatives of Umqikela, with whom the colonial government had to deal. Umhlangaso then offered to send a messenger to Umqikela immediately to ask him to come at once, or, if he was unable to travel, to authorise representa-

tives to act in his stead. Mr. Stanford agreed to this proposal, and it was arranged that the result should be made known on the following day.

On the 7th of December the Pondo deputies assembled in the afternoon, when Mr. Stanford met them and inquired what answer had been received from Umqikela. Maboza, a counsellor, replied that the chief was very ill and would not be able to attend. Mr. Stanford then asked if those present were authorised to represent the great chief, and to deal fully and decisively with the questions that required settlement. Maboza made answer that although the chief was ill, he was not dead, and that those present would discuss matters, but refer the decision to Umqikela. Mr. Stanford objected at once and finally to this scheme, whereupon Umhlangaso spoke up saying they had full powers.

To make sure of his position with such wily diplomatists, Mr. Stanford stated that the colonial government had to deal with Umqikela; that Umqikela had promised to attend a conference at Fort Donald, but had failed to do so; that he had then promised to attend at Ntola's kraal, and had again failed to keep his engagement; but if they were fully empowered to act in his name, he was prepared to proceed with the negotiations. This being assented to, Umhlangaso asked for a statement of what the government desired.

Mr. Stanford then commenced the discussion of the questions at issue. He spoke of the invasion of the Xesibe district on the 20th of October, and demanded satisfaction for it, pointing out particularly that it was not an instance of ordinary border disturbance, but was a premeditated and regularly organised attack by the whole tribe. From that matter he proceeded to the question of border control generally, and demanded the establishment of a system under which colonial subjects could obtain redress from Pondos for crimes committed against them. He referred next to the disturbances in the Rode, which resulted from

Pondo misgovernment, and which would prove a constant source of irritation unless some decisive remedy were applied. And lastly, he alluded to the closing of the waggon road that had been in use for many years and the refusal to allow its repair.

Having heard Mr. Stanford's statements, the Pondo representatives retired to consult together. When they had done so, they returned, and agreed to open the road from Port St. John's to Kokstad and allow construction, repairs, and outspan places wherever necessary, to establish in conjunction with the chief magistrate of Griqualand East a better system on the border, and to carry out, especially in cases of theft, the provisions of their own laws with regard to the punishment of thieves and the restoration of stolen property or compensation for it.

The condition of the Rode was then discussed. The Pondo representatives were willing to cede it to the Cape Colony in exchange for land elsewhere; but as that would mean reopening the question of the Xesibe district, Mr. Stanford declined to entertain it. He offered to purchase the Rode for cash, and the representatives took the night to consider the proposal.

On the 8th of December the conference was renewed in the afternoon. The matter of the Rode was the first brought forward, but after a brief discussion it was allowed to stand over, and the question of a solatium for the Xesibe district and Port St. John's was brought on. The Pondo representatives maintained that before 1878 they had received an amount of money from every vessel that put into Port St. John's, of which they had been deprived since that date, and they therefore maintained that they had a right to a share of the customs dues collected there. Mr. Stanford proposed to pay them a sum of money at once, but this they declined. They asked for £300 in perpetuity. Mr. Stanford offered £200, and this they accepted. It was agreed that the solatium for the Xesibe district should be £1,000 in money, the amount being less than the govern-

ment was prepared to give in 1885, owing to the subsequent conduct of the Pondos.

The matter of the Rode was then brought on again, and a long discussion ensued. Mr. Stanford laid great stress upon the invasion of the 20th of October and the expense to which the Cape Colony had been put in sending forces to the border. The purchase money, as finally agreed upon, was £600; and the chief magistrate of Griqualand East then, in the name of the government, informed the Pondo representatives that no further question would be raised regarding the late raid. The boundary of the Rode was decided to be the great waggon road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad and Natal. This arrangement was reduced to writing, Josiah Jenkins acting as secretary, and was formally signed and witnessed. On the 10th of February 1887 it was confirmed by Umqikela, who at the same time issued a proclamation to that effect in the style of a European potentate, and it was finally ratified by Sir Hercules Robinson as governor and high commissioner on the 12th of March 1887.

After this settlement of the grievances which the Pondos naturally had on account of the loss of territory once recognised as theirs, matters went on better for a time. Roads were constructed from Port St. John's to Umtata in one direction and to Kokstad in the other, without any interference by the chiefs or people, and the little traffic upon them was not disturbed. Thefts of cattle continued, but in some instances the stolen property was restored, though the thieves were allowed to go unpunished, so that others were not deterred from committing the same offence.

In October 1887 Umqikela died. He had ruined his strong constitution by drunkenness, and had long been in a feeble state of health. He recognised that his end was hastened by his own misconduct, and to his credit when death was near he issued instructions that no one was to be smelt out or punished for having caused it. His people obeyed his dying command, though already one man, the

counsellor Gabela, had been accused by a witchfinder of bringing on his sickness and had been killed. Umqikela left no generally recognised heir. His great wife, a daughter of the Galeka chief Kreli, had never borne a son. At a general assembly of the tribe in August 1885 it had been decided that the chief should name one of his inferior sons as his heir, who was then to be adopted by the great wife, but he had postponed doing so from time to time until it was too late.

On the 13th of February 1888 a great meeting of the sub-chiefs and leading men of Eastern Pondoland was held, when Umqikela's son Sigcawu was chosen as his successor. The condition of things required a strong resolute ruler, and Sigcawu was so weak that very shortly each of the inferior chiefs did pretty much as he liked, and the country fell into a state of anarchy. Thefts of horses, horned cattle, and sheep from the people of Griqualand East became more frequent than before, and no redress whatever could be obtained. This made it almost impossible for the magistrates of the border districts to control the people, who began openly to say that British rule was a bad thing for them, inasmuch as they were punished when they took cattle from the Pondos, while the Pondos took theirs with impunity. They urged that they should be allowed to cross the border in arms to recover their property, and maintained stoutly that doing so would not be commencing war, for it was war already. If the young Pondos came across and stole oxen to show that they were men, why should those who had become British subjects not show that they also were men by retaliating? The Bacas especially were sorely irritated by a taunt of the Pondos that soon all their horses would be gone, when they would be compelled to ride on pigs. It was only the good sense and authority of the chief Makaula that kept them from making an inroad into Pondoland and trying to avenge themselves. A strong police force was kept on the border to restrain them, as well as to try to protect them, which was not practicable along a line of such length.

In Western Pondoland there was much less cattle lifting, but the internal condition of the country was such that sooner or later the British authorities would be compelled for humanity's sake to interfere. Nowhere else had superstition such a hold upon the minds of the people, nowhere else was the number of individuals put to death on charges of dealing in witchcraft so appalling. The sub-chief Gwadiso was in rebellion against Nquiliso, and offered to cede his people and the ground on which he was living to the Cape Colony. The offer was not accepted, because the government wished to remain on good terms with Nquiliso, and therefore tried to restore concord, but without avail. The sons of the chief were growing up, and were acting like the sons of Eli of old, their father having no control whatever over them. Everything was thus tending to ruin.

At this time Umhlangaso was trying to carry out a scheme of pitting another European power against Great Britain in dealing with the Pondos. He encouraged some private individuals of German birth, notably Lieutenant Nagel and a gentleman named Einwald, to form trading establishments in the country, and induced the chief to grant them various concessions which would have resulted in placing not alone the whole of the commerce but any mining industry that might be developed entirely in their hands. He hoped through their means also to obtain large supplies of arms and ammunition, which would enable him to set the colonial authorities at defiance. His scheme failed, because those who obtained the concessions received no support from their mother country, but it showed to what lengths Umhlangaso and his partisans were prepared to go.

Disturbances caused by feuds between different clans were frequent, but that was the normal condition of almost all Bantu tribes, especially of such tribes as the Pondo, which contained a great many alien groups of people, whose chiefs were not related to the family of the paramount ruler. In Western Pondoland the alien clans were more numerous than those of pure Pondo blood. They had

been compelled by various circumstances to become vassals of Faku, but they had not lost their feeling of semi-independence, nor had they forgotten ancient antipathies. The usual way of a Bantu paramount chief in dealing with such cases was to let the quarrelsome clans fight with each other, but when they had gone far enough in his opinion, he fined both of them for his benefit. They were bound to account to him for every man killed, that is to solace him for the loss of his subjects, usually at the rate of an ox each if they were common people. This was the course pursued by Sigcawu and Nquiliso, and it seemed reasonable to the Bantu in the country, though the colonial authorities regarded it as dangerous to the general peace, inasmuch as people on their side of the border might easily be drawn into the strife. Weak men too, like Sigcawu and Nquiliso, could not always enforce the payment of the fines on such occasions, which made matters still worse.

In 1890 internal strife differing from this in its character broke out in Eastern Pondoland. Umhlangaso, who had held the position of chief counsellor to Umqikela, rose in rebellion against Sigcawu, whose election to the paramount chieftainship had not met with his entire approbation. An intensely vain man, just sufficiently educated from books to give him power for mischief, he tried first to govern the tribe through Sigcawu, and when that failed, he rose in revolt. Such a man can always find adherents where there are so many factions as there were in Pondoland, and his feud with Manundu enlisted on his side all the opponents of that chief. But Sigcawu proved the stronger of the two, and Umhlangaso with all his band was driven from his ground at Inthlenzi. They took refuge in Griqualand East, and their cattle, which were driven into the district of Mount Ayliff, offered such a temptation to the Xesibes to make good their losses that it was next to impossible to preserve anything like order. Sigcawu's forces respected the boundary line, and made no attempt to follow the rebels across it, but the colonial authorities were unwilling to

receive the refugees and provide for them. Umhlangaso was therefore informed that he must either return to Pondoland and submit to Sigcawu, or be removed to Capetown.

He declined in the most emphatic terms to comply with the first of these alternatives, and hesitated about the other with a view to gain time, until, as soon as he could arrange plans with his adherents, he suddenly recrossed the border and reoccupied Inthlenzi. There he was again attacked by Sigcawu, and was driven away the second time, when he retreated across the Umtamvuna into Natal. It was now determined that he must be removed to Capetown, whether he would consent or not, as he could not be permitted longer to use British territory as a base of operations against his legitimate chief. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, he made a dash into the Isiseli, a district bordering on the sea and lying along the right bank of the Umtamvuna. Here he and his adherents were received and supported by Patekile, chief of the Imizizi clan. The district was one well adapted for defence against forces that could only keep the field as long as the provisions each warrior carried with him lasted, and Sigcawu tried in vain to drive him out of it. On two occasions indeed Sigcawu's army was defeated, but he alleged that he could have beaten the rebels if his forces had not been discouraged by knowing that their opponents had Natal behind them as a refuge in time of need. So the rebellion of Umhlangaso was not suppressed, and the fighting continued through the years 1891, 92, and 93, keeping the whole country in a state of excitement and unrest.

This circumstance forced Sigcawu to do his utmost to keep in favour with the colonial authorities, even had he not otherwise been disposed to do so. In 1892 he made an arrangement to pay five hundred head of full grown horned cattle in settlement of all claims against his people for theft since December 1886, and he carried out his agreement to that effect with every mark of good faith. In 1893 he fell in cordially with a proposal of the colonial government to

construct a strong barbed wire fence along the whole border between the district of Mount Ayliff and Pondoland, and gave permission for the sneezewood poles needed for it to be cut in his territory. This fence was of the greatest use thereafter in preventing thefts of cattle and disputes as to the actual position of the boundary. Recognised by the British magistrates on one side and by Sigcawu and his counsellors on the other, no one thought of questioning whether it should not have run differently, and even when it passed through the centre of Pondo gardens in one place and of Xesibe gardens in another, the occupants of the ground made no demur, but simply moved to their own side. It was something that every one could see, and felt bound to respect. Robbers, who would have scrupled at little else, scrupled at cutting the wires, and never dared to break the locks of the gates which were closed at night.

In November 1893 a private of the Cape mounted rifles, named Carty, was murdered on the border by two boys about sixteen years of age. There was in the act no other object than a desire to do something daring, and the boys did not deny the deed, but seemingly did not realise the enormity of their crime. Sigcawu caused them to be arrested, and handed them over to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East to be punished. They admitted that they were guilty of having done something that their chief did not approve of, but otherwise for the mere murder of a man of no consequence their consciences did not trouble them.

At the beginning of 1894 the colonial authorities regarded the condition of things in Pondoland as such that the country and people must be brought at once under the control of civilised men. They would have annexed the territory long before, but for the objections raised by the imperial government, which had now been removed. Accordingly Major Elliot was sent as a special commissioner to Nquiliso, with a message from the governor and high commissioner inviting or requiring him to place himself and

his people under the control of the Cape government. On the 8th of March he reached Ezinkumbeni, and found the chief not unwilling to do as he was desired. He admitted that anarchy was prevalent, that his sons were not so obedient as they might be, that some of his vassals were defiant, and that the wizards who were put to death were very numerous. But it was necessary before such an important matter could be settled that all the chiefs and leading men in Western Pondoland should be called together, and that the question should be discussed in its various bearings.

A meeting was therefore convened, and the conclusion arrived at was in favour of the people becoming British subjects and their country British territory. On the 19th of March 1894 a formal agreement to that effect was drawn up, signed, and witnessed at Ezinkumbeni, when Western Pondoland ceased to be an independent state. It was stipulated that Nquiliso should receive an allowance of £500, Bokuleni £100, and Dumezweni £50 a year. The same laws and regulations were to be enforced as in Tembuland, and the same form of administration was to be observed.

Mr. W. E. M. Stanford, chief magistrate of Griqualand East, conveyed a similar message to Sigcawu, and the result was identically the same. On the 17th of March 1894 the mark of Sigcawu was attached to a deed of cession at Emfundisweni, and Eastern Pondoland became part of the British dominions. Sigcawu was to receive an allowance of £700 a year.

The deeds of cession were ratified by Sir Henry Loch as governor and high commissioner, who on the 20th of March in a proclamation extended her Majesty's sovereignty over the whole of Pondoland.

On the 3rd of April a royal commission was issued, in which the governor of the Cape Colony was appointed governor of Pondoland. For a few months the territory remained in this condition, though practically it was ruled

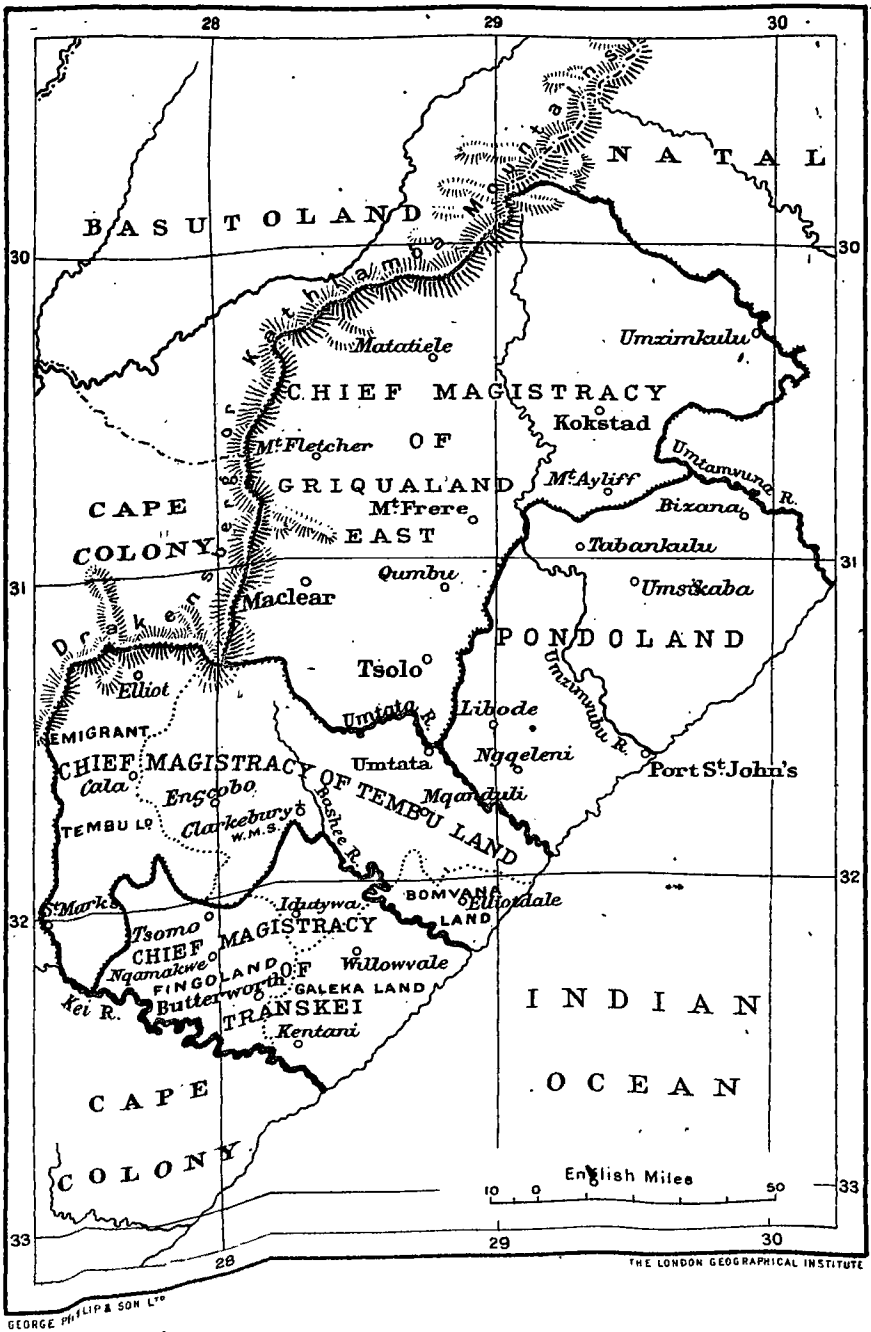
by the Cape Colony acting through the secretary for native affairs, just as Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East. An act annexing it to the Cape Colony was passed by parliament in the session of 1894, which was approved by the queen, and on the 25th of September was promulgated in the usual manner by proclamation.

Western Pondoland was divided into two magisterial districts, named Libode and Ngqeleni. On the 21st of March Mr. A. H. Stanford was installed as resident magistrate of the former, and on the 28th of March Mr. J. Glen Leary became resident magistrate of the latter. These two districts were then placed under the control of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, in the same manner as Umtata, Mqanduli, and the others mentioned in chapter *lxxiv.* The population at the time was estimated at two hundred Europeans—including Cape mounted riflemen,—eighty Hottentots, and eighty thousand Bantu.

Eastern Pondoland could not be so speedily reduced to order. It was necessary to bring Umhlangaso to submission, and for this purpose Captain Dalgety with three hundred Cape mounted riflemen was sent to the Isiseli. Patekile, chief of the Imizizi, thereupon abandoned the insurgents, promised to make his peace with Sigcawu, and was pardoned on condition of paying a fine of two hundred head of cattle. As Natal was closed against them, Umhlangaso and his adherents, under five petty chiefs, then accepted the terms offered, and were brought out and located on a tract of land in the district of Kokstad which was purchased by the government for their use.

The territory was then divided into three magisterial districts, namely Umsikaba, in which Mr. W. Power Leary was stationed as magistrate, Tabankulu, in which Mr. H. B. Warner was stationed, and Bizana, which was confided to Major Howard Sprigg. The population of these three districts was estimated at six hundred Europeans—including the Cape mounted riflemen,—one hundred and eighty Hottentots and mixed breeds, and one hundred and five

TERRITORY BETWEEN THE KEI RIVER AND NATAL ANNEXED TO THE CAPE COLONY.



THE LONDON GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE

GEORGE PHILIP & SON Ltd

thousand Bantu. They were attached to the chief magistracy of Griqualand East. The area of Pondoland eastern and western is about three thousand seven hundred and thirty-six square miles or nine thousand six hundred and eighty square kilometres.

The whole territory from the Kei to the border of Natal was now part of the Cape Colony. The enormous rate of increase of the Bantu under British protection, when they are not permitted to slaughter each other, is shown by the census of 1904. In that year in Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, and Pondoland, including Port St. John's, there were sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven Europeans and eight hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven Bantu and other coloured people.

NOTE.—There are indications that the rate of increase of the Bantu will not be so high in the future, owing to several circumstances. 1. Chest diseases are more prevalent now than in earlier times. 2. As areas become overcrowded, many young men are compelled to leave them and seek service as labourers for Europeans until they earn sufficient to make a fair beginning at their own homes, there being no longer ground available on which swarms can settle. 3. Acquirement of new wants, and as a consequence increase of care. 4. A system of giving credit by traders, under which the larger number of the men are involved in debt and difficulties. 5. The system of education in the great majority of the schools, under which many youths of both sexes are taught solely from books, and are really incapacitated from earning a living by honest industry, thus becoming discontented and often morose. The whole may perhaps be summed up as the change that the Bantu are undergoing in becoming adapted to their new environment.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

FORMATION OF THE CROWN COLONY OF GRIQUALAND WEST.

ON the 21st of October 1871 the territory claimed by Mr. Arnot for the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, containing the diamond fields, was proclaimed by Governor Sir Henry Barkly part of the British dominions, and the opportunity of uniting the different colonies and states of South Africa in a peaceable and friendly manner was unfortunately thrown away. Every man in the Free State believed that an act of great injustice had been committed, and the great majority of the Dutch speaking people in the Cape Colony and Natal were of the same opinion. Of the English speaking colonists, very few were found to defend the act, though the feeling was general that the Free State government was not strong enough to maintain order in case of disturbances by the people who were coming from Europe and America by thousands to seek wealth at the fields.

But, whatever opinion in South Africa may have been as to the right of Waterboer to the territory north of the Modder river in which the diamond fields were situated, the authorities in England certainly believed that he had such right, and the documents in their possession on the subject must have seemed to them conclusive on that point. Of the real history of the Griquas they knew nothing, and consequently could not see the absurdity of Mr. Arnot's claim on behalf of the petty elected captain Nicholas Waterboer to a vast extent of territory far from the residence of the little community of under six hundred souls, all told, that he presided over, which territory his people had never occupied, and to which they had no hereditary right or title other

than an agreement between two intruding captains dividing all the land from the desert to the Caledon river between them.

The protest of the Orange Free State has been given in a previous chapter, the following is Mr. Arnot's case, as drawn up by the colonial secretary, Mr. Richard Southey, in opposition to it, and transmitted to England:—

"The volksraad of the Orange Free State, in its protest published on the 19th day of December 1871, asserts that infringement has been made upon its territorial rights and that the treaty subsisting between it and her Majesty's government has been violated by her Majesty's acceptance of the allegiance of the chief Nicholas Waterboer and the Griqua people, and by the governor of this colony having by proclamation of the 27th of October 1871 notified that acceptance and proclaimed as British territory a certain tract of country south of the Vaal river, for a long series of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects.

"In support of this assertion they allege

"1st. That by a proclamation issued on the 3rd of February 1848 by Sir H. G. W. Smith, then her Majesty's high commissioner, the sovereignty of her Majesty was established over all the country lying between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg range of mountains, and that by a subsequent proclamation this country was divided into four magistracies or districts, named respectively Griqualand, Winburg, Vaal River, and Caledon river, each having its seat of magistracy at a named spot, and that the supremacy of her Majesty was then established over all people whether white or coloured living within those limits, and the world, to which the protest is addressed, is informed that these magisterial districts included the whole territory between the two rivers and the mountains above named, and it is implied that the magistrates exercised jurisdiction over all the inhabitants of whatever nation or colour, under and by virtue of her Majesty's commission.

"2nd. That in 1854 her Majesty's sovereignty was withdrawn from the country, and that Sir George Russell Clerk, acting as her Majesty's special commissioner, transferred the government over the whole of it to certain white inhabitants, who formed themselves into a republic and named it the Orange Free State.

"3rd. That a portion of the territory of the Orange Free State so transferred by Sir G. R. Clerk has been seized by her Majesty on behalf of Waterboer and his Griquas, and the Orange Free State deprived thereby of its sovereign rights therein.

"And they allege further that by the convention between Sir G. R. Clerk and certain white inhabitants of the country the latter secured for themselves the following advantages: 'The British government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange river with the exception of the Griqua chief Captain Adam Kok, and her Majesty's government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange Free State government;' besides this a free import of ammunition from the Cape Colony was at the same time guaranteed.

"And that notwithstanding this stipulation by which the comparatively few white inhabitants secured for themselves these advantages, which had been rendered necessary because they were surrounded by powerful tribes which had become their enemies in consequence of wars waged upon those tribes by the British government, that government disregarded the stipulation and entered into engagements with native chiefs and tribes north of the Orange river, without the consent and approval of the government of the Orange Free State; and on one occasion, when that state was at war with the Basutos, set aside the agreement respecting ammunition, and stopped the free import thereof from this colony.

"The foregoing appears to form the substance of the charges preferred by the Free State government against her Majesty's government, and of the arguments put forward by the former in support of its charges. The protest is so diffuse and contradictory as to render it a matter of some difficulty to reply to its statements seriatim or with due conciseness.

"In one part of the protest it is asserted that the government of the whole of the territory over which her Majesty's sovereignty had been proclaimed in 1848 was in 1854 handed over to the few white inhabitants, who formed it into a republic and named the same the Orange Free State. In another part it is alleged that the native tribes by which the white people were surrounded had been made the enemies of the latter by wars waged upon them by the British government. Again, in a third place, it is stated that in 1865 the Free State, compelled by the reiterated violations

of treaties, the neglect to fulfil solemn promises, the incessant robberies and presumptuous proceedings of the Basuto nation, girded on its sword and declared war against that nation. In 1866 a peace was concluded with the Basuto nation and a new treaty signed, whereby that nation ceded a tract of country by way of indemnification for war expenses. That treaty was not respected, but was wantonly broken, and the Free State was once more forced to take up arms.

"These assertions are, it will be seen, irreconcilable with each other. The Basutos possessed and occupied a very large portion of the territory between the Orange river, the Vaal river, and the Drakensberg, the whole of which (according to the protest) was taken possession of by the British government in 1848, divided into four districts presided over by magistrates, and in 1854 handed over to the white inhabitants; yet the same protest alludes to those natives as the Basuto nation, and to treaties entered into between the Free State and the Basuto nation, as well as a tract of country ceded to the Free State by that nation (which tract was altogether, as indeed was the whole country, occupied by the Basuto nation within the limits which the protest assigns to British dominion ceded to the white inhabitants and forming the Orange Free State), and it further makes mention of wars waged against these natives by the British government; all which statements are totally inconsistent with the idea previously set forth that the natives were in the first place British subjects ruled over by British magistrates, and subsequently subjects of the Orange Free State government and their territories included within the boundaries of that state.

"In order to form a just opinion upon the subject and to ascertain precisely in regard to territory what was possessed by the British government in 1854 and what was handed over to the white inhabitants who formed themselves into a republic denominated the Orange Free State, it is desirable briefly to notice the occurrences prior to that date, referring to official documents in support of the facts that will be adduced and the view of the case which will be maintained in this comment upon the volksraad's protest, namely that the British government in 1854 had no territorial possessions between the Orange and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg except such as had been acquired by treaty agreements from the native tribes, and that it handed over to the white inhabitants no more than the territory so acquired.

(Here follows a correct account of the action of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Harry Smith, and Sir George Clerk, which need not be given, as it has appeared in another volume).

"In further proof of the admission by the Free State government that the lands claimed by Waterboer between the Vaal river and the line from Ramah to Platberg were at the time of the convention with Sir G. R. Clerk beyond the limits of the territory which the white inhabitants at that time possessed, it may be mentioned that from 1854 to 1858 lands within those limits were professedly alienated both by grant and sale by a Griqua named Cornelius Kok, who is represented by the Free State government itself to have been an independent territorial chief; but this is denied by Waterboer, who states that although the said C. Kok was at one time a petty officer under his government, he had been removed from office for misconduct long before the land transactions in question, and had at no time had the power to dispose of the Griqua territory.

"These facts conclusively establish the position which was laid down in an earlier part of this memorandum, namely that the British government had not acquired and did not possess lands within the boundary claimed by Waterboer, and that it only ceded or purported to cede to the white inhabitants those lands which it did possess. The question then arises, what is the boundary of Waterboer's territory on the side of the Orange Free State? and that boundary, as already stated, was defined by treaty between the two branches of the Griqua nation in 1838, to run from Ramah on the Orange river northwards to Platberg. The Free State government disputes this line, and declares as a boundary between Griqualand West and that state a certain other line denominated the Vetberg line, which, instead of running as the former line, runs parallel to the course of the Vaal river, cuts at right angles to it, and gives to the Free State a very extensive tract of country claimed by Waterboer as belonging to his territory. Waterboer has always been willing and anxious to settle the question of right to the tract of land in question by arbitration, but could never obtain the consent of the Free State government to submit its claim to such an ordeal. And the British government, in notifying to that of the Free State its accession to the prayer of Waterboer and his people to be received as British subjects, intimated its willingness to allow the question of boundary to be still the subject of decision by arbitration, and that offer is still open.

(Here follows a statement concerning the Basuto wars and matters relating only to the Griquas of Adam Kok, which it is not necessary to give).

"As regards the charge that the convention of 1854 had been infringed by the action taken by the British government in prohibiting the free transit of ammunition, although solemnly bound by an article of that convention to allow it, it should be observed that the stipulation of that convention on this subject stands as follows, namely: 'The Orange River government shall have freedom to purchase their supplies of ammunition in any British colony or possession in South Africa, subject to the laws provided for the regulation of the sale and transit of ammunition in such colonies and possessions.' The laws and regulations referred to in this article provide that all persons desiring to purchase arms and ammunition must before doing so obtain permits from certain officers in the district in which the purchase is to be made; and no ammunition beyond a limited quantity can be conveyed from one part of the colony to another, or beyond the boundaries of the colony, unless the person conveying it provide himself with a similar official permission.

"The object for which these laws were enacted was to prevent arms and ammunition from getting into the hands of those who it might be thought would be likely to make use of the same in a way adverse to the interests of the colony.

"At the commencement of the last war between the Orange Free State and the Basutos, the governor of this colony, Sir P. E. Wodehouse, issued a proclamation commanding all British subjects to abstain from taking part in that war on either side, and in fact to observe a strict neutrality. During the progress of the war it was reported in the newspaper published at Bloemfontein, the seat of the Free State government, that an officer of that government was in communication with British subjects and endeavouring to induce them to raise levies within the colony to take part with the Free State against the Basutos, holding out the inducement that all stock or other property which they might succeed in taking from the Basutos should be retained by them as compensation for their services, and the same paper stated that this conduct on the part of the Free State officer was approved of by his government. Upon the governor of this colony becoming aware of this transaction, he addressed a friendly remonstrance thereon to the president of the Free State.

"Correspondence ensued and was continued during several months, in the course of which the governor warned the Free State government that if it persisted in its endeavour to induce British subjects from this colony to become freebooters on its side against the Basutos, it would become his duty to consider whether he would be justified in permitting this colony to continue the supply of ammunition for carrying on such a war. This correspondence on the Free State part being unsatisfactory to his Excellency, he directed the officers who were by law authorised to grant permits for the purchase of arms and ammunition to discontinue until the receipt of further orders their issue in favour of the Free State government.

"From a consideration of the foregoing remarks, it will be perceived:

"1st. That the allegations of the Free State volksraad, as contained in the protest under review, are based upon an entirely erroneous construction of the actual history of the country, as the large tract of country to the south of the Vaal river which the volksraad claims as having been for a long course of years governed by the Orange Free State and the property of and inhabited by Free State subjects was beyond question prior to the issue of Sir H. Smith's proclamation the property of the Griquas of Griqualand West, did not by force of that proclamation cease to be their property, and has never at any subsequent date been alienated by their government.

"2ndly. That her Majesty's special commissioner Sir George Clerk, in ceding to the white inhabitants the lands to the north of the Orange river which belonged to the British government, did not cede or profess to cede any portion of the territory of the chief Waterboer, and that the government of the Orange Free State at the beginning and during the earlier part of its existence well understood that the term sovereignty under British rule and the term Orange Free State under the rule of the republic did not comprise the territories of the native tribes by which the white inhabitants were surrounded, and

"3rdly. That the temporary refusal of permits to the Free State government for the purchase of supplies of ammunition arose from special circumstances which in the judgment of the governor of this colony rendered it imperative upon him to take immediate measures to prevent the misuse of the privilege in question.

"In conclusion, it may be added that much of the land in dispute was at the date of Sir Henry Barkly's proclamation the property of and held by British subjects and subjects of other European states, and had never at any previous time been the property of subjects of the Orange Free State, and that the attempt on the part of the Free State government to assume rule and jurisdiction over that tract of country must be held to have been a usurpation of the rights of an independent native government too weak to resist that usurpation by force of arms. The knowledge of this and of the yet more extensive act of encroachment which the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic were adopting measures to accomplish, by which a large portion of the territories of the Griquas and other natives, within which a great and increasing number of British subjects were located, was to have been appropriated by those states, compelled the government of this colony to interfere to prevent the said British subjects from becoming parties to aggressions on native tribes with whom this government had ever been on the most friendly terms.

"The right to possession or occupation on the part of the Free State has from the first been denied by the chief Waterboer, and that chief has throughout the dispute endeavoured to induce the Free State to consent to a settlement by means of a fair and honourable arbitration. The Free State government has, however, persistently declined to submit its asserted rights to the ordeal of any practicable arbitration, and the endeavours of the colonial government, which has constantly urged upon the Free State the propriety of settling the matters in dispute in the manner proposed by Waterboer, have hitherto been without effect."

In this document the real point at issue—the ownership of the land between the Vaal and Modder rivers by Waterboer's clan at any time—is almost ignored, and no attempt to prove such ownership is made, for Mr. Arnot knew that it must have failed. His own words at a later date concerning the transaction were: "I had not a single trump card in my hand, but I won the game." The secretary of state for the colonies could not know this, however, and with documents such as the above before him, he must be held blameless for sanctioning a transaction that no one now attempts to defend except on the plea that it

was necessary for the predominant power in South Africa to assume the government of the diamond fields.

It is not from public documents that the bitter feeling can be ascertained which was caused in the republics by the taking possession of the territory as a cession from Waterboer and the subsequent adjustment of the boundary to make it enclose the diamond mines. There are other sources of information from which writers in the distant future will be able to draw. The author of these volumes was in an excellent position for learning the sentiments of both the Dutch and the English speaking residents north of the Orange, and is convinced that to this transaction more than to any other is due the feeling of suspicion of English policy mingled with enmity towards it, which for the next thirty years was entertained by many residents on secluded farms in the republics.*

*The leading article in the *Diamond News* of the 30th of December 1871 was written by me, but discontent was then rife at the fields, and it would have been wrong to use a single word that would inflame passion of any kind. The article was a retrospect of the year, and was as follows :—

In a few short hours the year of grace 1871 will be numbered with its predecessors among the past, and another year with its hopes and expectations will have dawned upon us. The now dying year is one that must ever stand prominent in the history of South Africa as one in which a great industry was developed and most important political changes were effected. At its commencement the dry diggings were indeed known to exist, and were being partially worked, but the great bulk of the diamond seeking community was then settled along the banks of the Vaal river. Pniel was in what was termed disputed territory, but Dutoitspan was generally considered to be a long way on the Free State side of any line that Waterboer could reasonably claim. When in the early part of the year violent possession of Bultfontein was taken by a large party of diggers, the colonial press justified the course adopted by the Free State government in assembling a commando for the dispersion of the raiders and the preservation of order. Soon afterwards the farms composing Dutoitspan were formally opened for digging purposes by the then recognised government of the country, and people from all parts began to flock hither, lured by the extraordinary value of the finds made by a few fortunate individuals. Simple but effective machinery for maintaining order and administering justice was speedily introduced, and in a few weeks arose a great hive

Even President Brand, the peacemaker, the ardent promoter of friendly feeling between Dutch and English in South Africa, the man whose motto was alles zal regt komen, all will come right in time, was stung to the quick by it, and in a letter to Mr. Hamelberg, dated 22nd of November 1871, made

of industry in the very heart of a wilderness. Then came the most important discovery since the first finding of diamonds in South Africa. The Colesberg Kopje, or New Rush of De Beer's, with its marvellous wealth, was opened, and created an excitement never before witnessed in this part of the world. The rapidity with which fortunes were made by the proprietors of claims there astonished and dazzled even the least enterprising burghers, and from the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal Republic, and even from distant Europe and America fortune seekers came crowding in. In a very short time the river diggings were all but deserted. People at a distance could not or would not believe that this kopje was very small and every inch of it occupied. They read in the papers of immense sums being realised in a few days or weeks,—perhaps by some friend or acquaintance,—and where others did so well they imagined they would stand an equal chance. They came flocking in by thousands, most of them to be disappointed in their great expectations, but many to acquire wealth. In the meantime a town had arisen, not a town of tents only, but one in which large iron and wooden buildings lined the sides of the streets, and Dutoitspan, in addition to being the centre of diamond digging operations, had become the great depôt of commerce for the interior. Its rise had been nearly as marvellous and as rapid as the erection of the palace by the slave of the lamp, but it rests on more solid foundations, and there is little doubt but that it will continue to thrive and prosper.

The next event of importance was the recent change of government, by the assumption of British authority over the dry-diggings, now included in Griqualand West. Considering that the new government came into operation unpreparedly and without any force on the spot to carry out its decrees, its brief administration has been a difficult and unsatisfactory one. But there can be no doubt that in course of time it will acquire strength, and that ere long life and property will be as safe here as in any part of her Majesty's dominions.

The want of sanitary arrangements, or rather the want of power on the part of the authorities to carry out sanitary regulations, combined with the exposure and privations to which diggers are in the nature of things subjected, added to the heat of the weather and the prevalence of sand storms, have together caused a good deal of sickness since the commencement of summer, but the death rate has not been nearly so high as is usually reported in the Cape Colony. It

use of expressions strangely at variance with all his other correspondence and his language before and since. He deplored the weakness of the Free State, and wished for an ample supply of the best rifles and ammunition, with some mitrailleuses and other field pieces, which would have to be imported through Delagoa Bay. Portugal was too weak to oppose Great Britain, he would therefore like to see the United States of America, Germany, or even Russia get a footing at Delagoa Bay. It was but a temporary outburst of resentment that caused him to write in this strain, but that such a man as President Brand should even for a single hour have been moved so strongly shows how the uneducated farmers must have felt. Far the bitterest language that was used, however, was by Englishmen of high principle, who were wroth on seeing their flag made use of to cover such an act. If it had been necessary they would have set up a government of the fields without hesitation or scruple themselves, and have then handed it over to the empire; but to take the ground under the pretext that it was ceded by a man who no one believed had a shadow of a claim to it was something they were utterly ashamed of.

Meantime things were not working at all smoothly at the diamond fields. Under the Free State administration the difference between civilised and uncivilised men had been recognised, and the latter were subjected to certain restraints necessary for the well-being of the whole community. They were prohibited from roaming about after nine o'clock in the evening, they were not allowed to buy or sell diamonds, they were not permitted to purchase in-

probably never in any week exceeded fifteen per cent per annum of the population, and it has lately very materially diminished. Yet something like a panic was in the early part of the present month the order of the day, and a large proportion of the diggers deserted the camps with the intention of not returning until cool weather shall again set in.

The new year will open upon us with brilliant prospects, but in these days of marvels who can say what it may or may not bring forth. At any rate the energy which these diamond fields have infused into the formerly sluggish blood of South Africa cannot fail to carry on the march of improvement upon which we have entered.

toxicating liquor without an order in writing from their employers. These regulations had been judiciously enforced, with the result that order had been fairly well preserved. Now all this was changed. The naked barbarian had exactly the same rights as the most refined European, and had no more restraint upon his actions. He at once yielded to the temptation of strong drink, stole diamonds which he was now able to sell, and created disturbances throughout the night that turned the camp in which he lived into a pandemonium. He became insolent, worked as much or as little as he chose, and often was unfit for any labour at all.

Representations to this effect were made by the diggers to the executive committee, but to no purpose. The three gentlemen composing the committee were powerless to do anything except to carry out the instructions of the high commissioner in Capetown, and he had to be cautious not to do anything that might offend people in England who were constantly asserting that the blacks were oppressed in the republics and ought to be as free as the Europeans.

As therefore nothing was done to remedy the evil complained of, the diggers in exasperation took the law into their own hands. On the 17th of December 1871 a large number of men assembled and proceeded to burn down four low class canteens at the New Rush—now Kimberley—and three others at Old De Beer's. The proprietors of these canteens had been selling brandy in large quantities to coloured servants who were becoming utterly depraved, and it was morally certain, though it could not be legally proved, that they had been purchasing diamonds stolen by the blacks. The diggers destroyed everything on the premises, but abstained from removing or making use of a single article themselves.

Following this, on the 29th of December a mass meeting was held on the market square at Dutoitspan, when a number of resolutions were passed condemning the existing order of things, and it was unanimously agreed that a protest should be drawn up and signed against the ignoring

by the government of the committee of management and the old regulations, the charge of ten shillings a month by the proprietors of the farms for tent stands, the liberty granted to blacks to hold diamond claims, the sale of intoxicating liquor to blacks, the purchase or sale of diamonds by blacks, and the placing of barbarians on an equality with civilised men.

Some steps were then taken by the high commissioner to improve the condition of things, but they were altogether inadequate, and it was evident that nothing of importance could be done until the meeting of the Cape parliament, when the future position of the diamond fields would be decided. On the 18th of April 1872 parliament assembled in Capetown, and a bill for the annexation of Griqualand West—as Mr. Arnot had named the territory—to the Cape Colony was introduced by the government in the house of assembly.

On the 5th of June Mr. Southey moved the second reading. Mr. Solomon moved, and Mr. Molteno seconded, as an amendment:

"That, pending the settlement of the disputes between the government of Great Britain and the government of the Orange Free State on the subject of the boundaries of West Griqualand, which now happily appears to be near at hand, and in the absence of all information of the number and position of its population,—information on which, as well as on other points connected therewith, has been asked for by respectful address to the governor,—the house feels that it would be inexpedient to enter this session upon the consideration of any measure for the annexation of that territory to this colony, as it would be impossible for the house to decide with any confidence as to what political representation ought to be given to its inhabitants in the parliament of the colony, and on the other questions which would have to be decided simultaneously with its annexation to the colony."

Mr. Merriman moved as a further amendment "that the bill be read a second time on this day six months." He spoke strongly in favour of the Free State view, and declared his belief that Waterboer had no right whatever to the ground. Mr. Watermeyer seconded this amendment. He said he desired to see a united South Africa, and there-

fore would do nothing to rouse the hostility of the Orange Free State. He referred to the numerous petitions that had been sent in against the bill as evidence that public opinion was opposed to it.

The treasurer-general thought the house by its action in 1871 was pledged to support the bill. Mr. Glanville supported it because he thought the colony would act more tenderly than the imperial government towards the Free State, and he desired to see the union of the different communities. The rule of the diamond fields by the Free State he thought would be bad, by the South African Republic would be worse, and by an independent digger republic worst of all. To that it might come if the Cape Colony declined to annex the territory.

Mr. King supported the bill. He believed that if the Free State kept the territory that state would be ruled by the diamond fields, not the diamond fields by it. He was entirely of Mr. Glanville's opinion as to the degrees of bad government, and he considered the house pledged by its resolution of 1871 to annex the territory and then endeavour to make some arrangement with the Free State satisfactory to both parties.

Mr. De Villiers supported Mr. Solomon's amendment. He regretted the resolution of the preceding year, but considered the house was not pledged to annex the territory while the boundary was in dispute. He referred to a recent survey of the line from Ramah via David's Graf to Platberg, which showed the diamond fields to be beyond or on the eastern side of it, and asked what position the colony would be in if after annexation arbitrators were to award the whole of the fields to the Free State or say the twentieth part to Waterboer. Responsible government was near at hand, and the federation of the different communities was much spoken of. He thought the Free State would have been willing to enter into a federal union if things had remained as they were until recently, but certainly would not be if the bill before the house were passed.

Mr. Manuel would vote for Mr. Merriman's amendment, and regretted the resolution of the preceding year. Mr. Tennant would do the same.

Messrs. Sprigg, Reuben Ayliff, and Stigant were in favour of Mr. Solomon's amendment.

The debate was continued throughout the sitting on the 6th of June. Messrs. Knight, Van Rhyn, Wehmeyer, and Orpen supported Mr. Merriman's amendment, Messrs. Wright and Goold supported that of Mr. Solomon, and only Mr. Pearson argued on the same line as Mr. Glanville. Mr. Shawe then moved another amendment, which Mr. Rice seconded, omitting some words in Mr. Solomon's and making it read:

"That, pending the settlement of the disputes between the government of Great Britain and the government of the Orange Free State on the subject of the boundaries of West Griqualand, and in the absence of all information of the number and position of its population,—information on which, as well as on other points connected therewith, has been asked for by respectful address to the governor,—the house feels that it would be inexpedient to enter upon the consideration of any measure for the annexation of that territory to this colony, as it would be impossible for the house to decide, with any confidence, as to what political representation ought to be given to its inhabitants in the parliament of the colony, and on the other questions which would have to be decided simultaneously with its annexation to the colony."

Mr. Solomon thereupon withdrew his amendment in favour of Mr. Shawe's, and Messrs. Quin and Adams spoke in support of it.

Messrs. Louw, Prince, and Buchanan announced their intention to support Mr. Merriman's amendment, and only Messrs. Loxton and Clough spoke in favour of passing the bill.

On the 7th Mr. Smith moved a new amendment:

"That the house, while adhering to the resolution adopted last session on the subject of the annexation of Griqualand West, considers that under existing circumstances it is not expedient during the present session to adopt any measure for the annexation of the territory to the colony, and its representation in parliament."

The debate so far showed that only five members would vote for the bill and twenty-four would reject it. Mr.

Bowker now spoke in favour of Mr. Merriman's amendment, and the governor, seeing such an overwhelming majority against the measure, instructed the colonial secretary to withdraw the bill without putting it to the vote.

At the diamond fields the failure of the governor's plans was regarded with satisfaction, for the majority of the English speaking diggers desired a local representative government, and objected to being ruled from a place so distant as Capetown. Their aspirations in this respect were natural, and it was undeniable that laws adapted for an agricultural and pastoral people such as those of the Cape Colony were not in all cases suitable for a mining community. But the condition of Griqualand West was such that representative government there was almost out of the question. Already the enormous quantity of diamonds found had caused a great reduction in their value, and with the falling in of the roads across the Colesberg kopje, the principal mine, the expense of working was considerably increased.

The excavations there were now from fifty to eighty feet or 15·24 to 24·38 metres deep, and from the margin of the crater to the claims below ropes were stretched, along which the ground was drawn up in buckets. Many of the claims were subdivided into quarters or even eighths, and some of these small sections were worked on shares, the owner receiving one half of the gross proceeds. More black labourers were required than formerly, and that class of the population had increased, while the Europeans were diminishing in number. Men who had no ground of their own or who were unsuccessful as diggers were in a state of poverty, a condition of things which induced lawlessness, if not actual crime.

A robbery of a somewhat sensational character took place at this time. In the evening of the 9th of May 1872 a respectable looking man named John William Harding went to the post office at the Colesberg kopje, and seeing no one inside, inserted his arm through the delivery window and

removed a bag from the counter in which were letters containing two thousand three hundred and eighty-one diamonds, weighing six pounds avoirdupois or 2·722 kilogrammes. When the theft was discovered a search was instituted, but no trace of the missing bag was found. On the 4th of June Harding was arrested in a hotel in Capetown on a charge of theft of money from a fellow passenger from England about three months before. His luggage was on board the steamship *Syria*, in which he had taken his passage to England, and when it was examined for removal by the police two thousand three hundred and forty-seven diamonds and about £1,000 in coin, notes, &c., were discovered. The barrel of a rifle was filled with diamonds. On his trial on the 15th of July Harding confessed the crime, and gave such information as enabled the police to recover the letters, which he had concealed but not destroyed, so that restitution of the diamonds to their owners was made easy. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour.

Shortly afterwards another sensational robbery took place, of a great number of diamonds from a postbag that had dropped—or perhaps been thrown—from the mail waggon on the way to Capetown. In this instance the thief was caught by a disguised detective, and the diamonds were recovered. These cases naturally caused excitement at the time, but were far from producing such irritation as was occasioned by the thefts of diamonds by black servants from their employers. Owing to these the diggers were in a state of actual exasperation. A number of low class whites from the worst streets in London had found their way to the fields, and had organised a regular system of robbery. After October 1871 black men could hold claims in the mines, and diamonds found by Kaffir servants could easily be transferred to them and afterwards sold openly, or they could be sold secretly to some unscrupulous European directly or through the agency of a third person. On the 30th of May 1872 a proclamation had been issued by Sir Henry Barkly forbidding the sale or purchase of uncut

diamonds by unauthorised persons under a penalty of three times their value, and in default of payment, imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding two years. This proclamation, however, had no effect in checking the robberies.

In July the general discontent culminated in serious riots. On the 16th of that month an Indian at Colesberg Kopje was detected in the act of purchasing stolen diamonds from some black servants, when at once a number of diggers assembled, and after handling him very roughly, would have hanged him, had not the resident magistrate, Mr. R. W. H. Giddy, induced them to desist and allow him to be taken to prison. Meantime the crowd had been constantly increasing, and now set about burning down the tents and destroying the stock in trade of low class canteen keepers who were suspected of illicit diamond buying. Next day the excitement rose higher, and in the evening a great mob recommenced the destruction of tents and property of suspected persons, the police being unable to prevent these lawless acts, though they managed to arrest four of the leaders, who were committed to prison.

On the 18th Mr. Giddy, who had succeeded Mr. Bowker as commissioner, appealed to the diggers to assist him in maintaining order, and a good many enrolled themselves as special constables. Two of those arrested on the 17th were released from prison on bail of £1,000 each, and in the evening a great crowd assembled in front of the magistrate's house and demanded the liberation of the other two. Mr. Giddy offered to comply if bail was forthcoming, which was immediately offered, and so no further rioting occurred.

On the 19th Messrs. Campbell and Thompson arrived from Klipdrift, and a series of conferences took place afterwards between the three commissioners and a committee of eleven persons representing the digging community. The committee desired

"1. That the commissioners suspend from this date all licenses and the granting of all renewal of licenses to coloured persons to search for diamonds, or to buy, sell, or otherwise deal in diamonds.

"2. That the resident magistrate be empowered to inflict summary justice on all offenders, and that the jurisdiction in civil cases be extended to £500 at the option of the plaintiff.

"3. That the commissioners at once organise an efficient detective and police force.

"4. That the seat of government be removed from Klipdrift to the New Rush.

"5. That all revenue collected in this territory shall be retained for the purpose of defraying the expenses of administering the government of the territory.

"6. That the rules hereunto annexed shall, within as short a time as possible, be sanctioned and proclaimed law, the same to apply to the whole of the districts of Griqualand.

"*Rules.*

"1. That no Kaffir or other coloured person be entitled to hold a license to search for diamonds.

"2. That no Kaffir or other coloured person shall be entitled to hold a license to buy, sell, or otherwise deal in diamonds.

"3. That any person who shall be convicted before a magistrate of having purchased a diamond or diamonds from any native shall receive publicly fifty lashes, and his property shall be confiscated, the proceeds to be applied to forming a fund for rewards to persons who give information which leads to the detection and conviction of an offender, and any surplus money accruing shall be at the disposal of the representatives of the diggers.

"4. That any person who shall be convicted before a magistrate of having induced, or endeavoured to induce, any native servant to steal diamonds from his master shall receive fifty lashes and be imprisoned for a term not less than two years with hard labour.

"5. That every employer of native labourers shall enter into a written contract of service with each servant before an officer to be appointed to attest the same, whose duty it shall be to register such contract and give to each contracting party a ticket thereof, under the provisions of the seamen's registration act.

"6. That on the discharge of each servant it shall be the duty of his master to endorse on the ticket of service the fact of such discharge and the date thereof, under a penalty of £5 sterling.

"7. That no unemployed native labourer shall be permitted within the camp beyond forty-eight hours after discharge, and any native found so offending shall be liable to be apprehended, and when brought before the magistrate, should he refuse to engage his services, or should he not then procure a master, he shall be treated and punished in a similar manner as by the English vagrant act.

"8. Every employer of native labourers and all constables and other officers of the law shall at all times have the right, without warrant under the hand of a magistrate, to search the persons and habitations of

such native labourers, and in the event of any diamonds or other precious stones being found in their possession for which they cannot satisfactorily account, they shall be dealt with according to law, and any money or other property they may possess shall become the property of the government.

"9. It shall be the duty of the police to patrol the country surrounding the camps, with a view of apprehending absconding servants, and any servant found without his proper certificate of discharge shall be liable to be apprehended and dealt with according to law.

"10. All diamonds found in the possession of any native labourer shall in the absence of proof to the contrary be deemed to be the property of, and handed over to his present master should he be in service, and if otherwise to his last employer, who shall pay a sum equal to ten per cent of the value thereof to the apprehending officer.

"11. That no person shall be permitted to sell wines, spirituous, or other intoxicating drinks to any native servant, under a penalty of confiscation of his property and imprisonment for a term of not less than three calendar months.

"12. That no canteen keeper shall be allowed to receive any diamond or diamonds in payment or part payment, in pledge or pawn, for liquors, under a penalty of not less than two years' imprisonment and confiscation of his property."

On the 22nd the commissioners replied to these requests. They wrote

"1. As to the suggestion that the issuing of licenses to natives or other coloured persons to search for or deal in diamonds should be suspended pending the signification of his Excellency's pleasure thereon, the commissioners will direct that licenses to natives or other coloured persons to search for or deal in diamonds shall be suspended on Wednesday next, and shall thenceforth be issued or renewed only upon production to the inspector of claims, or to the distributor of stamps respectively, of a certificate of character and fitness, either from the diggers' committee or, in a digging where there is no such committee, from a board of seven bona fide white claimholders to be elected by white claimholders for that purpose.

"2. In answer to the proposal for increasing the power of magistrates, the commissioners will empower magistrates to punish the theft of diamonds, either by any number of lashes not exceeding fifty, or by imprisonment with hard labour for any period not exceeding six months; as also to hear and decide civil causes wherein the value of the matter in dispute does not exceed £100, without prejudice to the right of any suitor to bring his action in the first instance in the high court or in any circuit court, should he elect to do so, in any case where the sum sued for is beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of the magistrate's court.

"3. The commissioners have to inform the committee that the organisation of a special police for the diamond fields has been already commenced.

"4. The question of removing the seat of government to the New Rush is one which must be left entirely to the consideration of his Excellency.

"5. The appropriation of a part of the revenue collected upon the diamond fields to adjusting the amounts advanced and expended out of the colonial revenue for the purpose of government here does not appear to be a matter of which any just complaint can be made.

"6. In reference to the rules submitted to the commissioners, they have to reply as follows:

"Rules 1 and 2 are disposed of by the reply to clause 1 of this memorial.

"3. Approved, with the following modification, namely, that any person who shall be convicted before a resident magistrate of having purchased or received in pledge or pawn a diamond or diamonds from any native other than a claimholder or licensed dealer shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100 sterling, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months.

"4. Approved, with the following modification, namely, that any person who shall be convicted before a resident magistrate of having induced, or endeavoured to induce, any native servant to steal a diamond or diamonds from his master shall be punished with any number of lashes not exceeding fifty, or with imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve months.

"5, 6, 7, 8. The commissioners have already sent for his Excellency's approval a complete scheme of registration of servants, pending which the civil commissioner has approved a set of rules upon the same subject forwarded to him by the committee, and the same will be brought into operation.

"9. The definition of the means to be adopted by the police for the performance of their duties rests with the officer in command.

"10. Approved.

"11. Is covered by government notice number three of 1871.

"12. Approved, with the following modifications, namely, that no canteen keeper shall be allowed to receive any diamond or diamonds on pledge or pawn, or in payment or part payment of any liquor, under a penalty, upon conviction in a magistrate's court, of a fine not exceeding £50, or imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months."

Mr. Thompson objected to the first clause, suspending existing licenses to coloured people, but the committee insisted upon it as necessary, and on the 23rd Messrs. Campbell and Giddy issued a proclamation enforcing it from

the following day. Upon this being published, the diggers expressed themselves satisfied, and order was restored.

When information of what had occurred reached Sir Henry Barkly, he at once expressed disapproval of the proclamation issued by Messrs. Campbell and Giddy and of several of the rules that they had agreed to. On the 10th of August he issued three proclamations, which did not indeed make any essential changes in the recently introduced regulations, but in which distinctions founded on colour were obliterated. Thus it was made illegal for any person to be registered as a claimholder without a certificate from a magistrate, or a justice of the peace specially authorised for the purpose, that he was of good character and a fit and proper person to be so registered. Canteen keepers were prohibited from dealing in diamonds. A registry of servants was created, with stringent regulations and heavy penalties for infringement of the clauses. Masters were empowered to search their servants, without procuring warrants, and if diamonds were found upon them or in their quarters, they were made subject to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve months, or to fifty lashes, or to both imprisonment and lashes. The jurisdiction of magistrates in civil cases was increased, so that they could hear and decide suits of the value of £500 on promissory notes or other documents, and of £250 on oral evidence.

As soon as he could leave Capetown, Sir Henry Barkly proceeded to the diamond fields, and reached Dutoitspan on the 7th of September. He was received with expressions of loyalty by most of the diggers, and at a public dinner in his honour at the Colesberg kopje was loudly cheered when he announced his intention of recommending the imperial authorities to erect Griqualand West into a crown colony, with a constitution similar to that of Natal.

As the administration of the government by a triumvirate, two of whom resided at Klipdrift and the other at the Colesberg kopje, and who held different opinions on many

matters, was an entire failure, Mr. Richard Southey was appointed sole administrator. Mr. John Campbell was transferred to Capetown as resident magistrate, and an executive council was created, of which Mr. Southey was to be chairman, and Mr. John Blades Currey, who at the same time was appointed government secretary, Mr. J. C. Thompson, and Mr. R. W. H. Giddy were to be members. On the 9th of January 1873 Mr. Southey arrived at the diamond fields, took up his residence at the Colesberg kopje, and the new form of government was inaugurated. It was regarded as merely temporary until her Majesty's ministers should decide what was to be done now that the Cape Colony refused to incorporate the territory while its eastern boundary was in dispute with the Orange Free State.

The correspondence between the high commissioner and the president was continuous, and for a time it seemed as if an agreement between them would be concluded that the matter in dispute should be left to the decision of local arbitrators with a final referee in Europe to be nominated by one of the foreign ambassadors in England, but in August President Brand was taken very seriously ill and was compelled to desist from exertion of any kind. On the 31st of that month Mr. F. K. Höhne, the government secretary of the Orange Free State, assumed duty as acting president until the volksraad should meet. That body on the 4th of October appointed a commission consisting of Messrs. W. W. Collins, F. P. Schnehage, and G. J. Dutoit to carry on the government from the 21st of that month until Mr. Brand should recover, and it was not before the 16th of June 1873 that the president was able to resume duty. The volksraad refused to agree to a stipulation made by the high commissioner that the deed of submission to arbitration should be so drawn up as to exclude all references to the convention of the 23rd of February 1854, and so the long correspondence ended in nothing.

A reply to the document drawn up in Mr. Southey's name on the 25th of April was approved of and published, in

which the case of the Free State was again given, and an official letter from Mr. Southey himself when he was private secretary to Governor Sir Harry Smith was quoted in refutation of the most important statement now put forward, really by Mr. Arnot, on the opposing side. It is not necessary to give this reply, because all the events referred to in it have been recorded in previous chapters.

As nothing else could be done, the imperial authorities followed the counsel of Sir Henry Barkly, and erected Griqualand West into a crown colony. The letters patent effecting this were promulgated on the 17th of July 1873. The territory was formed into three electoral divisions, named Kimberley, Barkly, and Hay. In the division of Kimberley were the diamond fields on the farms Bultfontein, Dorstfontein, and Vooruitzigt, a circle with a radius of two miles or 3·2 kilometres enclosing the mines Bultfontein, Dutoitspan, Old De Beer's, and the Colesberg kopje or New Rush. The camp at the Colesberg kopje now took the name of Kimberley, and was made the seat of government. There were two or three hundred good pastoral farms in this division. In the division of Barkly were the diggings along the Vaal river and the agricultural and pastoral lands along the Hart and the Vaal, occupied chiefly by Koranas and Betshuana. The village at Klipdrift remained the seat of magistracy, but was renamed Barkly. The division of Hay covered the remainder, or southern and western portion, of the territory, and was occupied by the Griquas with a few Koranas and Betshuana. Griquatown became the seat of magistracy of this division.

The administration was vested in the high commissioner as governor of the province, or in his absence in a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the crown, and assisted by an executive council consisting of the secretary to government, the attorney-general, and the treasurer, of which the lieutenant-governor was president.

A legislative council was created, to consist of four official and four elected members. The official members were those

composing the executive council. The division of Kimberley was to return two members to the legislative council, and Barkly and Hay were each to return one. The governor, or in his absence the lieutenant-governor, was to preside in the council, and had a casting vote if other votes were equal. The council was to meet once every year, but it could be convened, prorogued, or dissolved, at the pleasure of the governor. The elected members were to retain their seats for three years, unless the council should be dissolved during that time, or unless they should accept office under government, in which case they were obliged to resign, but were eligible for reëlection. If a member should resign his seat and no successor be elected within three months, the governor was empowered to fill the vacancy.

Every male British subject, over twenty-one years of age and unconvicted of crime, was entitled to be registered as a voter, upon payment of a fee of two shillings, provided that he had occupied for six months a building of the value of £25, or had been a registered claimholder, or had been in receipt of a salary not less than at the rate of £100 a year or £50 with board and lodging. Any registered voter who should receive a requisition from twenty-five others was eligible as a candidate for a seat in the council.

The members elected in 1873 were Dr. P. H. J. Graham and Mr. Henry Green for Kimberley, Advocate Davison for Barkly, and Mr. David Arnot for Hay. In January 1874 the legislative council met for the first time. Mr. Southey, who now bore the title of lieutenant-governor, presided. Ordinances were passed, increasing the license to purchase diamonds to £50 a year, prohibiting trade in diamonds anywhere except in licensed offices, compelling dealers to keep registers in which all purchases should be minutely recorded, under penalty of a fine of £50 or three months imprisonment, and prohibiting any one from having more than ten claims registered in his name. It was now hoped that illicit dealing would be checked, and a few wealthy men or companies be prevented from getting possession of the mines.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ANNEXATION OF GRIQUALAND WEST TO THE CAPE COLONY.

THE new government gave no more satisfaction than the one it superseded. Mr. Southey had long and varied experience in office work, and was unquestionably an able man, but it cannot be said that he possessed the tact necessary for the office he filled at the diamond fields. He was an ultra conservative, whose ideas of government were not those of the mass of the diggers, consequently he never became popular. Then the policy of the administration was directed by the high commissioner, and he had merely to carry out instructions, so that he cannot justly be blamed for much that went wrong.

Various departments were created after the model of older colonies, which made the administration expensive, and its maintenance pressed heavily upon the diggers. They complained that the elective element in the council was so small that they were practically unrepresented. The farms on which the mines were situated had been purchased by speculators from their original owners, and disputes with the new proprietors kept the camps in a constant state of excitement. The council attempted to limit the proprietors' power of charging whatever rents they chose, but the ordinance was disallowed by the imperial authorities as being an infringement of rights. At length this difficulty was solved, as far as the principal mine was concerned, by the government purchasing the farm Vooruitzigt for £100,000, and selling the building stands which before had been held on lease.

As the crater deepened at Kimberley, the cost of digging increased. Powerful pumping machinery was required to keep the claims free of water, and frequently a landslip would take place, or a great fall of reef, which could only be removed at a cost of thousands of pounds. And all this time diamonds were declining in value. From two to three million pounds worth a year were still sent out of the province, but the quantity required to represent that sum was increasing year by year at an alarming rate. Heavy taxation, under these circumstances, was loudly complained of. But the diggers complained even more of the absence of adequate protection for property, of the want of sympathy on the part of the principal officers of government, and of the manner in which public affairs were conducted. It seemed to them as if the interests of the country were uncared for, while every petty document was docketed and carefully tied with red tape.

Another difficulty, distinct from the ownership of the ground, had arisen with the Orange Free State. The Bantu tribes far and near were arming with guns obtained at the diamond fields, and the European residents in both the republics were consequently in a state of alarm and were doing all they could to suppress the forbidden traffic within their own borders. On two occasions the Free State officials had seized waggons conveying firearms through the district of Jacobsdal without license, and had confiscated the contraband articles. On the 12th of December 1872 they made another seizure, of three waggons laden with guns and ammunition, the property of British subjects, on the way to the diamond fields. The seizure took place on the farm Magersfontein, a name written large in history now, but then hardly known beyond the immediate neighbourhood. The farm was owned by Mr. M. Combrink, and was held under a title granted by Major Warden when the country was a British possession. It was believed in the Free State to be on the eastern side of the boundary of Griqualand West as proclaimed by Sir Henry Barkly, but Mr. F. H. S.

Orpen, the surveyor-general of the province, had recently sketched a line which placed it considerably west of the border.

A good deal of correspondence followed between the executive committee of the Orange Free State and the high commissioner, in which the former affirmed that they had consistently respected the boundary as proclaimed, though they continued to protest against the cession by Waterboer, and that they had only received a copy of Mr. Orpen's sketch on the 8th of January 1873 and disputed its accuracy. The high commissioner stated that he would maintain the line sketched by Mr. Orpen, and that as Magersfontein was therefore in Griqualand West, the Free State in seizing the three waggons had attacked Great Britain and insulted the British flag.

On the 27th of January 1873 Mr. Currey, the government secretary of Griqualand West, arrived in Bloemfontein, and handed to the executive committee a demand from the high commissioner, dated on the 11th of the month, that the three waggons should be restored and £600 be paid as damages to their owners within one hundred hours from the time of receiving the missive, and further that a full apology be made for what had occurred. Upon receipt of this demand the committee called the executive council together, and the question what was to be done was earnestly debated. All the members realised that a refusal to comply with the high commissioner's demand would be followed by war and the loss of independence, but some of them preferred even this to what they regarded as the humiliation of doing what was required. Messrs. Collins, Schnehage, and Prinsloo voted for refusal. But others were in favour of a more moderate course, and thought the best thing that could be done would be to surrender the waggons and pay the £600 under protest, while declining to make an apology. For this line of action Messrs. Höhne, Truter, Dutoit, Steyn, and Venter voted. On the 30th of January, therefore, Mr. Currey was informed that the

money and the waggons with their lading intact were given up under protest, and a proposal was made to Sir Henry Barkly that a commission should be appointed to settle the boundary line and place beacons along it, in order to avoid future complications.

The volksraad was called together in extraordinary session on the 13th of February, and though the debate took place with closed doors, it was known that feeling ran very high. The action of the executive committee and council was, however, approved of, and the session closed on the 21st.

Sir Henry Barkly accepted the proposal of a commission to lay down a boundary, and nominated Judge Barry, of Griqualand West, as the member on the British side. He then asked the Free State government to draw up the requisite deed of submission, and transferred all further correspondence on the subject to Lieutenant-Governor Southey. The Free State nominated Attorney-General Buchanan, of the South African Republic, as its representative, and all parties agreed to accept Sir Sidney Smith Bell, chief justice of the Cape Colony, as final umpire. On the 8th of May 1873 the volksraad in its ordinary session requested Messrs. Klynveld, Vels, and F. K. Höhne to draw up a deed of submission, and appointed Advocate Vels to act as its solicitor in the matter.

But after all no settlement was arrived at. On the 26th of May the government secretary of the Orange Free State forwarded to Kimberley a deed of submission, in which the gentlemen named were empowered to fix the position of Ramah, David's Graf, and Platberg, and to lay down straight lines between those points; but to this Mr. Southey replied on the 6th of June objecting, as he desired that the three places or terminal points of lines should be laid down within very narrow limits in the deed of submission itself, in other words that the possibility not only of Magersfontein but of the diamond fields being declared outside of Griqualand West might be guarded against. To such a deed

of submission, which the Free State maintained would really give its case away, it refused to consent, and so nothing could be done in the matter.

The above, though the most pressing difficulty, was not the only one at this time. The Free State tried to prevent Bantu from openly carrying arms on its soil, and went to the expense of enrolling a small force of police for the purpose. Some individual blacks were arrested, and their weapons were confiscated. Then a number of Molapo's Basuto resolved to march together, and to cross the state as rapidly as possible, in expectation of being able to reach their own country before a sufficient force could be got together to oppose them. But Inspector Van Ryneveld of the Free State police heard of their having crossed the border, and with his own men and twenty-five farmers who assembled hastily he rode to Mooimeisjesfontein and took post there on the 17th of January 1873 as the Basuto band was approaching. Seventy fine stalwart barbarians, all but one with a gun on his shoulder, marched along until suddenly confronted by the Europeans who ordered them to halt. They were then called upon to surrender their weapons, and were informed that they must go to Boshof to answer to the charge of setting the law at defiance. Without hesitation, they refused to give up their guns, and produced their passes from the diamond fields which showed that they had purchased the weapons honestly. Inspector Van Ryneveld informed them that the documents were of no value in the Free State, but they still persisted in refusing to surrender their guns.

Whether the Free State force or the Basuto fired the first shot is uncertain, for each asserted afterwards that the other did; but this is not of much importance. The white men were there to enforce the law, and were determined to do it. The black men were there to break the law, and were equally resolved to do it. Each believed itself to have right on its side. The ground admitted of both parties taking shelter, consequently the firing had so little effect that the only

casualties were two Basuto killed and two wounded. Night came on, and in the darkness the blacks made their way back to Dutoitspan, where they reported what had occurred. They were British subjects, and the high commissioner, as he was unquestionably justified in doing, demanded a thorough investigation into the whole matter. To this the Free State made no objection, but the tone of Sir Henry Barkly's correspondence was such that the existing irritation was greatly increased by it.

At the diamond fields the discontent of the European residents who were not in thriving circumstances was constantly increasing, and the Free State government might have been pleased at being relieved of the difficulty of maintaining order there if it had been treated with more consideration. A sensible, practical people, whose first wish was to avoid turmoil and strife, the farmers in the republic fully realised the advantage to them of the excellent market afforded by the diamond mines, and it would not have been difficult to induce them to come to some friendly arrangement under which everything that British interests demanded might have been secured, and the way prepared for the eventual unification of South Africa, if a far-seeing, benevolent, and courteous statesman such as Sir George Grey had been her Majesty's representative here at the time. Sir Henry Barkly's dislike of "the boers," his highhanded, almost contemptuous manner of dealing with the republican governments, proved an effectual barrier against anything like harmony or confidence.

At Kimberley and Dutoitspan complaints, some frivolous, others well founded, were brought against the administration during 1873 and 1874, chief among them being the prevalence of illicit diamond buying, owing to the laws making no distinction of colour or race. At length a number of men banded together in what they termed a mutual protection association, went about armed, and drilled openly under the direction of military leaders, some of whom were known to be disaffected towards English rule and

boasted of being Fenians. What the ultimate object of this association may have been is uncertain. Open rebellion would have been an act of such extreme folly that few of the members can have intended to go so far, and probably their object was merely to gain notoriety. But when hundreds of excited men meet together with arms in their hands, and no force is present to restrain them, insurrection is easily drifted into. The police of Kimberley were directed to seize a quantity of ammunition and rifles known to be on the premises of one of the disaffected men, but to do it as quietly as possible. They did as they were directed, and not only seized the material of war but arrested the owner of the premises and conveyed him to prison. Immediately the alarm was sounded, when his associates hastily assembled, marched in a body to the magistrate's office, and demanded the release of the prisoner. Mr. Giddy was a man of tact, and managed to prevent a riot without acceding to the demand, but passion continued to run high, and the lieutenant-governor, believing his authority to be in danger, represented to the high commissioner that he was unable to preserve order.

Sir Henry Barkly then considered it necessary to send a body of imperial troops to the diamond fields. General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, who was then commander in chief of the forces in South Africa, directed it in person. It consisted, exclusive of officers, of two hundred and ninety men of the 24th regiment, forty of whom were mounted to serve as cavalry, and twenty-five artillerymen with two Armstrong guns. It was accompanied by a long train of mule waggons, and marched from the terminus of the railway at Wellington through Beaufort West and Hopetown to Kimberley, where it arrived on the 30th of June 1875. The orderly portion of the community welcomed the troops after their long march, and no open exhibition of disloyalty was made when on the following morning the leaders of the mutual protection association were arrested and committed to prison. They were put upon their trial for sedition, but

the jury refused to convict them, so they were set free. They thought it well, however, to leave the province, and with their departure quietness was restored.

A very important matter for the consideration of the government was the settlement of disputes regarding the ownership of land in different parts of the province away from the mining areas. There were claims resting on grants from petty Betshuana and Korana captains, from Cornelis Kok, and from Nicholas Waterboer after Mr. Arnot became his advocate, and often these overlapped. Then there were the grants of farms made by the Sovereignty government, thirty-three in number, which could not be disputed, and some of those made by the Free State government, which could be disputed if Waterboer's claim was good.

In March 1872 a commission, consisting of Mr. Francis H. S. Orpen, civil commissioner of Hay and surveyor-general of the province, Mr. P. L. Buyskes, sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker, a gentleman who had assisted in locating the grantees in the division of Queenstown, was appointed to receive, examine, inquire into, and register claims to land in the province, and also to ascertain and report for the governor's information what land should, in their opinion, be set apart for the use and occupation of the coloured inhabitants and for public purposes, such as sites for villages, &c. The first meeting of this commission was held on the 6th of May, and it was the only one Mr. Orpen ever attended, as his other occupations left him no time for this duty.

As soon as Messrs. Buyskes and Bowker entered upon the task they found themselves confronted with a difficulty that they did not know how to overcome. It became evident to them that Waterboer's claim was altogether fictitious as far as the greater part of the province was concerned, and they could not therefore recognise and register grants of land made in his name. Mr. Arnot's claims were the first that came before them. That gentleman submitted grants from Waterboer to himself of the

farm Eskdale, in Albania, on which he resided, fourteen thousand morgen or twenty-nine thousand English acres in extent, a block of thirty-seven farms, each containing three thousand morgen or six thousand three hundred and fifty acres, on the eastern side of the Vaal, a similar block on the western side of that river, and a lot twelve acres in extent at the proposed village of Douglas, all in freehold, and five agricultural allotments at Douglas, each five acres in extent, at a yearly quitrent of £1 for each, altogether very nearly half a million acres of ground. These they declined to admit and register, unless by positive order from the governor to do so, which was not given. Then, after investigation, they felt themselves under the neccessity of admitting claims founded on grants by Cornelis Kok, which was equivalent to an admission that the Free State case was well founded. The commission did not complete its work, as Mr. Bowker made use of some offensive expressions concerning what he termed a "big land swindle," when he was displaced, and the attempt to settle the exceedingly complicated question came to an end for the time.

But as everything away from the mines was at a standstill, and must remain so until this matter was arranged, the governor issued instructions that an ordinance should be passed, under the provisions of which a land court could be established. This was not desired on the spot, and difficulty after difficulty was placed in the way until Sir Henry Barkly proceeded to Kimberley and presided in person in the legislative council, when a land settlement ordinance was passed. The governor was determined that a thorough investigation should now be made, which is sufficient proof that down to 1875 he had been deceived by the specious statements made on behalf of Waterboer. When the ordinance was passed he appointed Advocate Stockenstrom, a man of the highest character, judge of the land court, to investigate and determine all claims.

It would not be possible to go more deeply into Griqua history than the land court did as day after day and week

after week documentary and printed testimony was produced and the evidence of all the old people that could be found was patiently listened to and compared. There were men and women still living who as boys and girls had crossed the Orange with the first Griqua emigrants from the Cape Colony, and there were men of other tribes who could corroborate or dispute their testimony. All that could be done by Waterboer's advocates was done, but it failed, for the evidence was overwhelming and indisputable that neither he nor his people ever had any right or property whatever in the territory north of the Modder and east of the Vaal, in which the diamond fields were situated. The captain was found to be half imbecile, to be ignorant of much that had transpired, and, as he himself stated, to have seen only with Mr. Arnot's eyes and to have heard only with Mr. Arnot's ears. The judge was obliged to decide in accordance with justice, and the grants made in Waterboer's name in that part of the territory north of the Modder river were thrown out.

In August 1875 Lieutenant-Governor Southey and the secretary, Mr. John Blades Currey, retired from office, and after a short interval during which the recorder, Mr. Jacob Dirk Barry, acted as local head of the government, Major William Owen Lanyon was appointed administrator. At the same time Colonel Crossman was sent as a special commissioner to examine into and report upon all matters connected with the revenue, expenditure, and liability of the province, with the result that considerable retrenchment in the cost of administration was effected.

Owing to the boundary of Griqualand West being extended by a survey conducted by Mr. Ford, which placed David's Graf nearly as far eastward as the village of Jacobsdal, and moved the terminal point Platberg much higher up the Vaal, thus taking more farms from the Free State, on the 11th of February 1876 the volksraad in extraordinary session empowered President Brand to proceed to London and confer with the authorities there on the subject. On the 13th of

March the president left Bloemfontein, and on his way through the Cape Colony read in the Griqualand West newspapers the judgment of the land court just delivered, which showed Waterboer's claim to be baseless. This decision, the president recognised, as coming from a British court and being based upon overwhelming evidence, must greatly strengthen his case. On his arrival in England he was courteously received by Earl Carnarvon, who was then secretary of state for the colonies. But restoration of the territory was regarded as impossible, as vested interests had grown up, the European inhabitants had become almost exclusively British, and it seemed necessary that the predominant power in South Africa should be in possession of the diamond fields. As that could not be done, after several interviews and a good deal of correspondence, a proposal was made by Sir Donald Currie, whose assistance in the negotiations had been requested, which was agreed to by Earl Carnarvon and President Brand: to restore a few farms that could be cut out of the border without affecting the diamond fields, and to pay to the republic £90,000 as a solatium, with £15,000 more in case of a railway being constructed within five years.

On the 13th of July 1876 an agreement to this effect was concluded, subject to its ratification by the volksraad. The president returned to South Africa, and called the volksraad together in extraordinary session on the 7th of December, when he laid the whole circumstances before the members and expressed himself strongly in favour of the arrangement as restoring harmony and friendship with the British government and people. But the discussion which followed shows that it was only owing to his personal influence that the agreement was ratified on the 11th of December, and many of the members declared that a sense of what they believed to be the injustice done remained as strong in their minds as ever.

No one at this time, except Mr. Arnot, seems to have realised the importance to the British possessions of securing

this territory as a way to the interior of the continent. Its value was believed to consist in its diamond mines, and neither Earl Carnarvon nor any other British minister of the day desired to possess a hectare of territory beyond it. The Keate award had thrown a great part of the country to the north into the utmost confusion, and it would have been an act of mercy to the Bantu there to have extended British authority over it, but the imperial government had no desire to do anything of the kind. "Wait a bit," said Mr. Arnot, "they will have to do it." It is but fair to him to say that he was at this time the most advanced imperialist in South Africa, really caring less for his own interests — despite appearances — than for the extension of British rule. He regarded the republics with intense hatred, and thought any means justifiable that would humiliate and eventually destroy them. His unscrupulousness was not inferior to that of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and he rather prided himself upon it than denied it. To him, favoured by exceptional circumstances such as seldom occur, is due the acquisition of Griqualand West and the manner in which it was brought about.

The dispute with the Free State being now settled, the parliament of the Cape Colony felt itself at liberty to take steps for the annexation of the province, and in the session which opened on the 25th of May and closed on the 8th of August 1877 Mr. Molteno, the prime minister, brought in a bill for the purpose. He had gone to England at the desire of the parliament to try to assist Earl Carnarvon in arranging matters with the Free State, and had there agreed to relieve the imperial authorities of responsibility for the province by incorporating it in the Cape Colony. By the bill the province as a whole was to return one member to the legislative council, and for the purpose of representation in the house of assembly was to be formed into two electoral divisions, Kimberley and Barkly, each division to return two members. The high court of Griqualand, presided over by a judge termed the recorder, was to be retained, and to stand in the

same relation to the supreme court of the Cape Colony as the court of the eastern districts. The supreme court was made to consist of a chief justice and five puisne judges, instead of four as previously, the additional judge being the recorder of Griqualand. The registry of deeds was also to be retained.

On the 6th of June the second reading of the bill was moved by Mr. Molteno in the house of assembly. He stated that it was in accordance with an arrangement made by him with the secretary of state for the colonies, but did not give any particulars as to the condition of the province.

Mr. Richard Southey, who then represented Grahamstown in the assembly, objected on the ground that the people of the province had not been consulted and that no information on its finances had been supplied. He was very feebly supported, however, and after a short discussion the bill was passed without a division.

On the 4th of July the house went into committee, when Mr. J. Paterson, supported by Mr. Southey, endeavoured to secure three members for the province in the legislative council, and Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, supported by Mr. T. Barry, endeavoured to secure two. Mr. J. G. Sprigg was also in favour of a larger number of representatives than the bill provided, but the clause as it stood was confirmed by twenty-nine votes to twenty-five. There was hardly any other objection made, and as some two thousand residents in the province petitioned for annexation and no petitions were received against it, the bill easily went through both houses, the third reading in the legislative council taking place on the 27th of July. In April of the following year it received the royal assent, but, owing to a change of ministry in the Cape Colony, it was not proclaimed in force until three years later.

The diamond fields had by this time lost a very large proportion of their former population. Individual diggers could no longer work claims successfully, and companies were rapidly taking their place. This movement was

accelerated by an ordinance passed by the local council in November 1876, rescinding the one which prevented any individual or company from holding more than ten claims. All the rough work was now performed by black labourers, and it was estimated that in the whole province there were not more than from six to seven thousand white people, with perhaps four times that number of blacks. The penalties against illicit diamond buying were greatly increased by an ordinance passed in 1877, but the crime was as rife as ever, though from the changed conditions in mining riots no longer took place.

By another act passed in the session of 1877 the debt of the province, which then amounted to £175,000, was taken over by the Cape government. The items were £90,000 to the Orange Free State for the settlement of all disputes as to boundaries, £20,000 to the imperial government to repay the cost of the transport of the troops in 1875, and £65,000 for money borrowed.

Small as the number of Europeans had become, the majority of them objected to the loss of autonomy, and desired to retain a local government under a federal system. The scheme seems absurd now, the disproportion between the Cape Colony and Griqualand West being enormous; but Earl Carnarvon, who was desirous of bringing about the federation of all the colonies and states in South Africa, favoured it as a commencement and as opening a door for more important communities to enter. Therefore, though he was anxious to get rid of responsibility for Griqualand West, he did not press the Cape government to enforce the annexation act passed by the parliament until the question of confederation should be settled.

In 1878 the province was disturbed by a rebellion of the Griquas, Koranas, and Betshuana who occupied the western and northern portions of it.' The Griquas had consented to Mr. Arnot's proposals in earlier years with a shadowy idea of some benefit that would accrue to them, they could not tell in what way or form, if they would become British

subjects. They had waited seven years, and now found themselves paupers. Under the government of Waterboer they could not sell the land on which they lived: as soon as they became British subjects the restriction was removed, and speculators went in who obtained their ground for the merest trifle. They had foolishly thought they could acquire other land by simply moving to some unoccupied spot and asking the government for it, and now they found that privilege had ceased. Thoughtless and improvident, they had succumbed to the temptations placed in their way by traders, had got into debt, and been deprived of their moveable property by judgments in the magistrate's court. The protection afforded in former times by the very insecurity in which they lived, which prevented traders from giving them credit, was gone, the reign of law had set in, and the Griquas became impoverished under it. The captain Nicholas Waterboer was allowed an annuity of £1,000 for life, but he had become addicted to the use of strong drink, and with so much money at his disposal was often in a miserable condition.

The Batlapin and Batlaro had been sullen and discontented ever since the issue of the proclamation that made them British subjects under the pretence that they were living in Waterboer's country. Many of them, among others a large section of the clan under the Christian chief Jantje, son of Mothibi, whose kraal was at Likhatlong, had moved out of the province, declaring they would rather leave their homes than abide by any arrangement regarding them made by a petty Griqua captain with whom they had no connection. Jantje took up his residence at a place named Manyiding, not far from Kuruman mission station, where those of his people who accompanied him built a new kraal. The open country between the Vaal river and the northern boundary of Griqualand West was now treated as crown land, and the Betshuana and Koranas could no longer move about in it and settle down wherever and whenever they chose. At the same time, it is true that the government had

acted liberally by all these people, and had set apart no less than a million acres of ground as locations for their exclusive use.

Apart from any special causes for discontent, there was at this time a feeling of unrest among many of the coloured tribes in South Africa. The Xosas were at war with the Cape Colony, and their emissaries were busy trying to induce other tribes to join in a general rising against the Europeans. One of them, a man educated at a mission school too, was particularly active in Griqualand West. The accounts of Xosa successes that were put in circulation were perfectly ridiculous, still they were believed by the ignorant blacks who sympathised with the opponents of the white man. On the northern border of the Cape Colony the Koranas were again causing trouble, and these people were in close contact with the inhabitants of the lower part of the province.

Then nearly every black man in the country had now a gun in his possession. When nothing else would induce the Bantu to work at the diamond fields, the prospect of getting guns did, and they were acquired there in great numbers. In the hands of an untrained barbarian a gun is perhaps no more destructive a weapon than an assagai or a battle-axe, but it certainly makes him more inclined to war. And the coloured inhabitants of Griqualand West had for many years been accustomed to their use, some of them had been expert hunters, and one with another they were as well trained as the recent European colonists.

In January a band of volunteers one hundred and twenty strong, called the Diamond Fields Horse, left Kimberley under command of Colonel Charles Warren, to assist the Cape Colony in the war with the Xosas, and performed excellent service after their arrival at the Kei. Just after they left, the Batlapin chief Botlasitsi, son of Gasibone, whose kraal was at Pokwane, just beyond the border, was called upon to pay five hundred head of cattle for causing a disturbance. Some Europeans had obtained farms in his

neighbourhood, within the border, and he had taken their cattle and threatened them with forcible expulsion if they would not withdraw of their own accord. He would not admit that Waterboer had any right to give away land along the Hart river. He refused to pay the cattle demanded, so Major Lanyon raised a force of two hundred white men and a number of blacks, and on the 21st of January 1878 left Kimberley to punish him. On the 24th the expedition arrived at Pokwane, and found the Batlapin apparently prepared to resist. Major Lanyon made ready to attack, but just as he was about to close in Botlasitsi's men abandoned the place and fled, leaving their cattle behind them. The expedition then took possession of six hundred and fifty head, and returned to Kimberley.

On the 21st of April Mr. H. B. Roper, magistrate of Hay, reported that disturbances had occurred at Prieska, south of the Orange river, and that the Koranas and Betshuana in his neighbourhood had risen in arms. Major Lanyon immediately called for volunteers, and on the 24th left Kimberley for Koegas at the head of seventy men, increased to two hundred and twenty on the march. Upon his arrival at Koegas he opened communications with Donker Malgas, who was the principal leader of the insurgents, and demanded that they should lay down their arms at once. This was refused, and Major Lanyon therefore prepared to attack them in the Langebergen. He had hardly set out from Koegas for this purpose, however, when he fell into an ambush, and several volleys were poured into his force by the insurgents, by which one man was killed and several were wounded. He then fell back to Koegas, where he formed a camp, and sent to Kimberley for reinforcements and guns.

This temporary repulse encouraged the Griquas to rise. They laid siege to Griquatown, where the few white people living in the district had taken refuge, who were determined to hold the place to the last extremity. They managed to convey intelligence of their danger to Major

Lanyon, and two hundred men were at once sent from Koegas to their relief, on whose approach the rebels retired, but on the 21st of May they were encountered at Jackalsfontein, near Griquatown, when twenty-five or thirty of them were killed and the others dispersed.

On the 31st of May at Daniel's Kuil, in another part of the province, an Englishman named John Burness, who held a commission as justice of the peace, his wife, and his brother James Burness were attacked and murdered by a party of insurgents.

The force under Major Lanyon at Koegas was constantly being increased by the arrival of volunteers, and some field guns had been obtained, so on the 5th of June Donker Malgas's stronghold in the Langeberg was attacked, and after severe fighting was taken. Fifty-two rebels were killed, but the others managed to escape. On this occasion some two thousand sheep and goats and a few horned cattle were captured. Six days later the insurgents were again attacked at a place close by which they had fortified roughly, and were again driven away with heavy loss. Major Lanyon, believing that the rebels would not make another stand, now returned to Kimberley, leaving, as he thought, the pursuit and capture of the fugitives to Colonel Warren and Captain Loftus Rolleston, who had returned to the province with the diamond fields horse.

On the 9th of June Colonel Warren attacked a party of rebels at Withuis Kloof in the Campbell mountains, killed thirty-one of them, and captured a good many cattle. On the 15th, 18th, and 22nd of June there were engagements with the insurgents in different parts of the province, in each of which they were defeated and suffered heavy loss. In the last of these Captain George Back with thirty men of the border police surprised a band making a raid from the islands in the Orange river, killed twenty-five of them, and made thirty-eight prisoners.

About seven hundred volunteers, police, and others were now in the field, so ultimate success was felt to be certain,

and it was considered expedient to send an expedition for the relief of Kuruman mission station, which was threatened with destruction by the Batlapin and Batlaro.

When the Burness family were murdered at Daniel's Kuil, the white people at Kuruman realised that they also were in danger. The brothers Burness were known to have always treated the blacks with exceptional kindness, and to have had so much confidence in the Batlapin living near them that they remained at their dwelling when all the other Europeans in the district retired to Barkly or Kimberley for safety. As they had been murdered by the people they trusted, the residents at Kuruman might expect the same fate. Some of the converts informed the missionaries that the chiefs had resolved to kill all the Europeans they could lay hold of, so the traders and other white people at the place took refuge in the Moffat institution building, and sent a message to Kimberley informing the administrator of the position they were in. That their fears were not groundless was proved by the fact that the Batlaro under the chief Morwe, aided by the Batlapin under Botlasitsi and Luka, son of Jantje, plundered the station, though they did not attack the building in which the white men were prepared to defend themselves.

The advance party of the relief expedition, under Commandant Ford, crossed the border on the 6th of July, and about ten miles or sixteen kilometres beyond found a strong body of Batlapin warriors occupying a hill. These they dispersed, but at a loss to themselves of five men killed and the same number wounded. On the following day a body of Luka's and Morwe's men was dispersed, when twenty of them were killed. On the 9th Commandant Ford reached Kuruman, and a few days later was followed by Colonel Warren and Major Lanyon, each with a band of volunteers. The clans that had been threatening Kuruman withdrew to Gomaperi, twenty-five miles or forty kilometres distant, where they were attacked on the 16th of July and defeated with a loss of nearly fifty men.

The official returns to this date show that on the European side since the commencement of hostilities twenty-three men were killed and thirty wounded, not a large number compared with the loss of the opposing party.

It was now resolved to attack the hostile clans who were occupying Litakong or Lithako, the Lattakoo of Campbell and other travellers in the early years of the century, a place about six miles or 9·6 kilometres from the mission station Motito. Owing to the rough stone walls from which the place has its name, that were built by some clan whose existence has long been forgotten, the position was a strong one for defence, and the Batlapin and Batlaro had done what they could to improve it. On the 24th of July it was taken by storm, with a loss of three Englishmen and two Zulus killed on the side of the attacking party, and of over a hundred on the side of the defenders. The spoil that fell into the hands of the victors was considerable, consisting of about three thousand head of cattle, sixty-seven waggons, a number of new karosses, and a quantity of ostrich feathers.

It was supposed that the hostile Batlapin and Batlaro were by this time sufficiently humbled, and that Kuruman was safe, still it was thought prudent not to retire hastily. On the 9th of August a resident of Kuruman, named William Chapman, who imprudently strolled to some distance, was murdered, which was taken as evidence that matters had not settled down. The volunteers therefore remained until the middle of August, when they set their faces homeward, and on the 19th Colonel Warren and Major Lanyon reached Kimberley again.

During their absence there had not been much disturbance in the province. Towards morning of the 30th of June a band of Griquas and Batlapin attacked the hamlet of Campbell, but were kept at bay till sunrise, when they were easily put to flight. On the 18th of July a respectable trader named Francis Thompson was murdered at Cornforth Hill, one of his sons was assaulted and wounded

in an atrocious manner, and his store was plundered and burned. Twenty-five men were subsequently arrested and charged with this crime, but it was impossible to prove their guilt, and they were acquitted.

Colonel Warren with a strong patrol now proceeded through the province in search of the insurgents still under arms, but found none until the 11th of October, when the remnants of the Griqua and other clans were encountered at Mokolokwe's stronghold in the Langebergen. There was fighting for several days, during which one white man was killed, but the place was cleared at length, and the wretched conflict within the province was over. Until the end of the month, however, the volunteers were kept busy patrolling and making prisoners of noted rebels, so that some four hundred men were finally placed in confinement at Kimberley.

On the 15th of November a general amnesty was proclaimed by Major Lanyon, from which were excepted only rebels who had been in receipt of government pay, the leading insurgents, and those suspected of having committed murder. The whole of the blacks were disarmed, and then the prisoners were gradually set at liberty, until none remained in confinement except four of the ringleaders and those who were suspected of being the actual murderers of Messrs. Burness and Thompson.

To overawe the clans between the northern border of Griqualand West and the Molopo river, some of whom had been openly hostile and all of whom were believed to have sympathised with the insurgents, Colonel Warren with a band of volunteers marched through the country, and visited every kraal of importance in it. On his approach Botlasitsi with some of his followers fled to Taung, where the Batlapin chief Mankoroane gave him shelter. Colonel Warren demanded his delivery, and after some pressure, on the 25th of November Mankoroane surrendered him, his sons, and his brothers, who were sent to Kimberley and confined there as prisoners of state. All the chiefs in the territory professed

submission and offered to become British subjects, so the expedition, having nothing more to do, returned to Kimberley, where it arrived on the 1st of January 1879.

The disturbance had been quelled by local forces, with the aid of only three or four imperial officers, but the cost to the province had been £101,841.

In March 1879 Major Lanyon was removed to a more important office, and his successors only held acting appointments. The last of these was Mr. James Rose Innes, who assumed duty in December 1879.

On the 31st of July 1879 a debate on the delay in proclaiming the annexation act of 1877 took place in the house of assembly of the Cape Colony. Many members were of opinion that it should either be repealed or promulgated at once, rather than be kept in suspense any longer. The debt of the province had increased greatly since it was passed, and its financial arrangements, they thought, should be brought under the control of parliament without further delay if the territory was to be annexed at all. The prime minister, however, gained time by announcing his intention of visiting the province and ascertaining the condition of things there by personal observation. He was in favour of confederation, as opposed to unification of the different South African communities.

In October of the same year he and Attorney-General Upington proceeded to Kimberley, where the majority of the residents were found opposed to annexation, though not violently so. A subject that occupied their attention more fully was that of railway communication with the seaboard, which the prime minister informed them could not be considered until the other was settled.

In 1880 the confederation proposals of Earl Carnarvon were subjects of the past, the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State would have nothing to do with them, and there was no reason any longer to defer putting the annexation act of 1877 in force. Still the elected members of the legislative council of Griqualand West raised their voices against it. In

June 1880 the matter was discussed, when Dr. J. W. Matthews, one of the members for Kimberley, moved, and Mr. J. Paddon, member for Barkly, seconded:

"That in the opinion of this council the annexation by proclamation or otherwise of the province of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony would be detrimental to the best interests of the province and opposed to the wishes of the inhabitants."

Upon which the attorney-general moved and the treasurer seconded:

"That in the absence of any public expression of opinion on the subject it is presumptuous and unreasonable to ask this council to commit itself to the terms of the resolution, which is based upon the assumption that such opinion has been expressed."

The official and the elected members were equal in number, so the voting for each resolution was the same, but the last was carried by the casting vote of the chairman.

The council met for the last time on the 30th of September.

On the 15th of October 1880 a proclamation was issued at Capetown by Sir George Cumine Strahan, who was then acting as administrator of the government, giving effect from that day to the act No. 39 of 1877, providing for the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER LXXX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MAKOLOLO TRIBE AND OF THE HERERO WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Of the great military tribes that had devastated South Africa, one—the Makololo—had now ceased to exist. After the defeat of the Mantati horde by the Griquas at Lithako on the 26th of June 1823, the murderous host broke into fragments, one of which was under a young chief named Sebetoané, a Mokwena* by birth, who had raised himself by his ability from a humble position after his immediate retainers had been driven by Umpangazita from the banks of the Sand river. His followers were at that time termed the Bapatsa, but being joined by other sections of the shattered horde, principally Bafokeng and Bapiri, who were of the same family group—the Bakwena,—the united band took the name of Makololo, and commenced a career of conquest on its own account.

Sebetoané first measured his strength with the Bangwaketse, whose principal kraal was then as now at Kanye, north of the Molopo. This tribe was at the summit of its fame and power, its able and warlike chief Makaba had made his name dreaded far and near, and by his defeat of the entire Mantati horde before its encounter with the Griquas, had apparently placed himself beyond fear of another attack. His warriors were well trained and armed, and placed unbounded confidence in their hitherto successful head. But Sebetoané was more than his equal in strategy, and managed to draw the

* Sebetoané and his original followers spoke the dialect of the Bakwena and claimed to belong to that group of tribes, but they certainly had a large admixture of Makalanga blood in their veins, though how it was acquired cannot now be ascertained.

Bangwaketse into an engagement in an unfavourable position, where they were defeated and a great number of their best men were slain. Among those who fell was their renowned chief, who died on the field of battle, as became a warrior of his reputation.

Then Sebetoané withdrew, taking much spoil with him, and the Bangwaketse came together again and built a new kraal close by their old one. Their chief, Gasiyitsiwe by name, a grandson of Makaba, was a little boy, and two regents in succession governed the tribe during his minority. When the second of these was their head the Matabele occupied the territory to the eastward, and Moselekatse sent a small army against him. He made a very feeble resistance, for the spirit of the tribe was lost when Makaba died. His cattle were taken, many of his people fell under the stabbing assagai, and he with the survivors fled for their lives to the desert, where the remnants of the other Betshuana tribes were seeking shelter. There, half-starved and homeless, they were obliged to remain until the emigrant farmers drove Moselekatse away to the north. Then the Bangwaketse under Gasiyitsiwe returned to Kanye, but the tribe was now small and feeble, and it has never since recovered its former strength.

Sebetoané's followers were still more like a rabble than the disciplined body they afterwards became, but he was gradually introducing order among them. There was so little left to plunder in the south that his people were often reduced to great distress, and after wandering about for a few months subsequent to the battle near Kanye, he set his face towards the north. The nearest tribe in that direction was the Bakwena of recent times, that is the section of the widespread Bakwena family that still retained the ancient name. This tribe had recently undergone a revolution of an unusual kind. Its chief, Mokwaséle by name, was a man of more depraved character even than an ordinary barbarian, and being as weak as he was dissolute had made himself so unpopular that some of his subjects

conspired against him, put him to death, and raised one of his distant relatives to be their ruler, his son Setsheli being a young lad at the time.

The legitimist party desired that their new head should act only as regent until Setsheli should grow up, but the other section would not consent to this arrangement, so a division of the tribe would probably have taken place, with civil war as its result, if the Makololo had not just then arrived in the neighbourhood. The legitimists sent messengers secretly to Sebetoané to appeal to him as a Mokwena himself to aid them in raising Setsheli to the chieftainship which was his by right of birth. Sebetoané consented, and a definite plan was arranged. The Makololo surrounded the Bakwena kraal at midnight, entered it at dawn, and with the assistance of the legitimists overcame and put to death the new chief and his partisans. Setsheli was proclaimed chief, and Sebetoané withdrew without plundering or further molesting the people.

The Bakwena tribe suffered terribly from the Matabele. Its cattle were captured, its kraals were pillaged and burnt, and much the larger number of its men, women, and children were killed. Some of its boys and girls were incorporated in Moselekatse's bands, and a miserable remnant with the chief barely escaped extermination by taking refuge in the desert. There many died of thirst and starvation, and when at length relief came by the arrival of the emigrant farmers and the flight of the Matabele, only a small band was left of the once large tribe.

The Makololo continued their journey northward, and next attacked the Bamangwato, who were not in a condition to offer much resistance. Khari, the most renowned of all their chiefs before the present ruler Khama, had recently fallen in battle with a Baroswi clan that he was endeavouring to subdue, and with him so many men were killed that the tribe was reduced to helplessness. Sekhomi, a son of Khari, but not by the great wife, then became chief. He was very young, and consequently without experience, so

that when the Makololo arrived he and his people were practically at their mercy. They helped themselves to the cattle and the best of the girls and boys, and then left, taking Sekhomi a prisoner with them. Some months later he was either liberated or permitted to escape, and the scattered Bamangwato gathered again around him and built a kraal at Shoshong, in a strong but otherwise not very good position among their hills.

Thence to the Zambesi the Makololo cut their way through the tribes that were found on their line of march. The carnage must have been great, but it is impossible now to ascertain more than the general outlines of the events that took place. Like all other Bantu conquerors, Sebetoané spared boys and girls of the people he otherwise destroyed, and incorporated them in his own tribe, though in a servile condition. His warriors were now under strict discipline, and the rabble with which he set out had become a veritable army. The Baroswi, broken up into little independent parties, could offer no resistance worth mentioning, and the Makololo, after bringing them under subjection, crossed the Zambesi with the help of Batonga boatmen whom they impressed, and went down its bank to the principal settlements of those people, which were very numerous below the great fall. The Batonga tried to resist, but were defeated and slaughtered in great numbers, and vast herds of cattle fell into the hands of the victors. Then the Makololo settled in a large and fertile valley north of the great river.

Here the tribe prospered greatly, and was able to maintain its position as the ruling people in that part of the interior of the continent. Its exactions from its subjects were very heavy, but none of the conquered tribes or clans dared to resist the will or disobey the commands of Sebetoané. So great was his power and influence that the subject people, though vastly outnumbering the band that accompanied him to the north, were obliged to learn the dialect that he spoke, so that many years later, after the Makololo had disappeared from the face of the earth, the French missionaries who

established themselves with the Barotsi found that nearly every member of that great tribe was conversant with Sesuto. This was of such advantage to them, owing to their having a perfect knowledge of that dialect themselves and to the bible and much religious literature having already been printed in it, that they could only regard the Makololo conquest as designed by God to open the way for Christian teaching in one of the most benighted regions in Africa.

When the Matabele fled to the north from the emigrant farmers, Moselekatse sent an army against the Makololo, that captured many of their cattle. These they succeeded in recovering, and they managed to force the Matabele soldiers to retreat, but Sebetoané realised that in the open country where he was then living he would be unable to withstand a second attack, which would probably be made by a much more powerful force than the one he had driven away. It thus became necessary to seek another home, and the locality was indicated by a man who professed to have intercourse with the spirit world and whose words were regarded by the chief and his people as inspired. This man, Tlapane by name, warned Sebetoané against moving eastward, the direction which the chief was inclined to favour, and pointed to the south-west as the course he should take. He added that the people there should be spared, as they would be Sebetoané's future subjects.

Accordingly search was made for a locality that could easily be defended, and one was found among the swamps bordering on the Tshobe river. To it the chief and his principal warriors at once removed with their women and children. They retained control over their subjects north of the Zambesi, and a few Makololo still remained there, but from this time forward the seat of government was on the Tshobe, south of the great river, and the principal military bands were stationed there. The inhabitants to a great distance around were brought under subjection, but Sebetoané respected their lives and usually their property,

and they were treated with such kindness that they speedily became attached to their new master. These people, who lived on swampy ground and under a burning sun, were much blacker in colour than the original Makololo. They consumed great quantities of fish, which abounded in the rivers and lakelets of the country.

In 1849 the reverend Dr. Livingstone with Messrs. Oswell and Murray explored the country northward from Kolobeng, then the residence of the Bakwena chief Setsheli, as far as Lake Ngami, which they reached on the 1st of August of that year. There they were informed of the wide extent of Sebetoane's power, and they were desirous of visiting him, but were then unable to proceed farther. In 1850 another attempt was made from Kolobeng, as a base, but was unsuccessful, as fever attacked so many of the party at the lake that they were obliged to return.

In 1851, however, Dr. Livingstone and Mr. Oswell reached Sebetoane's residence, and were received in a friendly manner by the chief and his people. The country along the Tshobe river, where the principal kraals were situated, was so unhealthy that Europeans could not remain there long, and Dr. Livingstone, who had his family with him, thought it imprudent then to look for a better site where a mission might be established. On a short excursion the Zambesi was discovered, in the centre of the continent, and much information concerning the other rivers of that region was gathered.

Sebetoané died while Dr. Livingstone and Mr. Oswell were at his residence, which was called Linyanti. The missionary had been with him long enough to acquire his confidence, and had consequently come to be regarded by the people with the greatest respect. Coming from Kolobeng and having resided for a long time with Setsheli, whom Sebetoané had raised to the chieftainship of the Bakwena, were circumstances in his favour. His attachment to the people with whom he had been living, and of whom he spoke in terms of praise, made him seem to the Makololo

almost as if he was a Mokwena himself. His position being thus assured, he resolved to proceed to Capetown, to send his family to England, and to return to the Tshobe to explore the country and ascertain whether a healthier site than Linyanti could not be found, to which the principal section of the tribe could be removed, and where missionaries might settle and endeavour to christianise and improve the people.

Sebetoané had no son by his great wife, and desired that his daughter Mamotshisane, who was a woman of vigour, should succeed him as head of the tribe. For some years before his death he caused her to be treated as a great chief, she was addressed and spoken of as a man, her principal male favourite was termed her wife, and she was even encouraged to select whatever young men she chose as companions, just as a chief selects young women. But Mamotshisane disliked this kind of life, and soon after her father died she gave the chieftainship to her half brother Sekeletu, who was then a lad of only sixteen or seventeen years of age. Thereupon dissensions broke out in the tribe, but with the death in 1853 of the principal agitator, Mpepe by name, who was made prisoner and stabbed with an assagai, these ceased, and Sekeletu became the undisputed ruler of the Makololo.

On the 23rd of May 1853 Dr. Livingstone arrived at Linyanti again. Sekeletu had caused most of the men who had been his father's favourites to be put to death, as he was jealous of their influence, and his right to the chieftainship was doubtful on account of his mother having been a mere concubine. His disposition was weak, and he possessed none of his father's abilities. He was therefore glad to place himself under the guidance of the strong-minded white man, who bore such love for him and his people as to leave wife and children and home, and travel for months through the desert to visit and benefit them. There were two main objects in the missionary's view. One was the search for a healthy district, the other the opening a road to either the

western or the eastern coast, along which ivory and other produce might be transported and needful supplies of European goods be brought more easily than from the distant shore of the Cape Colony. Accompanied by the chief, he explored the country in canoes for a considerable distance along the great waterways, but without finding as healthy a site as he was in search of for a mission station. The other design was then followed up. Sekeletu was capable of appreciating the advantages of trade, and so Dr. Livingstone was furnished with carriers and ivory and food, which enabled him to make his celebrated journey from Linyanti to St. Paul de Loanda and back, 11th of November 1853 to 1st of September 1855.

It was evident that a road so long and so difficult as this had proved could be of little use, and thus the energetic explorer was hardly back at Linyanti when he began making preparations for a journey to the eastern shore. Supplies of such things as he most needed had been sent up by waggon from Kuruman, and were found by him carefully preserved by the Makololo. Allowing himself only two months rest, on the 3rd of November 1855 he left Linyanti with a large party of carriers, furnished as before by Sekeletu, and on the 12th of July 1856 reached the village of Kilimane. He was the first European that ever crossed the African continent north of the Cape Colony, and it is from his connection with the Makololo and the assistance which they gave him that the name of the tribe has become widely known.

Leaving his Makololo attendants under the care of the Portuguese officials at Tete, Dr. Livingstone proceeded to England to report what he had done and to obtain assistance in establishing missions in the interior of the country. He promised to return and conduct the men back to their own country, and they had such confidence in him that they made no objection to his leaving them for a time.

Linyanti was in such a fever-stricken locality that the Bapatsa who cut their way from the Sand river to the

Zambesi, and who had been bred in a healthy land, had almost died out, and the tribe now consisted largely of incorporated captives. Dr. Livingstone had obtained a promise from Sekeletu that he would return to the much healthier site north of the Zambesi where his father had once resided, and the London Society, relying upon his keeping his engagement, resolved to send out missionaries to occupy the new field far in the interior of the continent.

For this purpose the reverend Holloway Helmore, who had been engaged in evangelistic work at Likatlong, on the Vaal river, for seventeen years, was selected as leader, and the reverend Messrs. John Mackenzie and Roger Price, two young men fresh from home, were appointed his associates in the work. It was arranged that the mission party should proceed by the road along the eastern border of the Kalahari to Linyanti, where Dr. Livingstone would meet them, introduce them to the chief, and persuade him to move without delay.

In July 1859 Messrs. Helmore and Price left Kuruman in waggons drawn by oxen, and commenced the long journey northward. They were accompanied by their wives, four children of Mr. Helmore, one child of Mr. Price, and a number of Betshuana assistants and servants. Mr. Mackenzie was to follow in 1860 with supplies for the mission party. The journey was one of much suffering from want of water, but in February 1860 Linyanti was reached without any loss of life. Here disaster awaited them such as is seldom experienced even by the most devoted of those courageous men and women who hazard everything in the attempt to carry the gospel to the heathen in the dark places of the earth.

Dr. Livingstone had not arrived, and they found the Makololo very unfriendly and suspicious of the conduct of white men, on account of never having heard what had become of their countrymen who had accompanied him to the eastern coast in 1855. On being informed that those men had been left at Tete while the doctor visited England, and might be expected back very soon, they would not believe it.

Sekeletu was reported to be away hunting, though in fact he was at home. On the third day after their arrival the chief visited their encampment with a large retinue, and made them a present of a quantity of millet beer, which Mr. Price and the black people of the country afterwards believed to have been poisoned. He had previously sent them an ox for slaughter, however, and as the blacks believed that this also was poisoned, it is not quite certain whether the illness with which the whole party was shortly afterwards attacked was not in reality a natural malady, though Mr. Price affirmed that the symptoms were entirely unlike those of African fever. Be that as it may, the missionaries with their families and Betshuana servants were stricken with illness, while there was very little sickness of any kind among the Makololo at the time.

Mr. and Mrs. Helmore, two of their children, Mr. Price's infant child, and three of the Betshuana died; and the survivors were so enfeebled that they could hardly move about. Mr. Price then resolved to leave Linyanti and return to the healthy country in the south, but when he was ready to set out—in June—Sekeletu took from him the two best waggons and nearly all his clothing and stores of every kind, leaving him very ill provided for the journey. The heartless chief also directed the Bushman guides to lead him into a place infested by the tsetse, so that nearly all his cattle perished.

Soon after leaving Linyanti Mrs. Price died, and the sorely afflicted missionary, finding it hopeless to get much farther south, proceeded as best he could to the country of the Batawana on the margin of Lake Ngami, where he was kindly received by the chief Letshulatebe. While he was there, in August, Dr. Livingstone with his brother and Dr. Kirk reached the interior from Tete, and at the first Makololo outpost near the Victoria falls learned what had occurred, but it was then too late to make any further arrangements. He had been detained a long time exploring the Shire river and the lower Zambesi by the faulty con-

struction of a small steamer he had brought from England, so that he could not reach Linyanti as soon as Mr. Helmore had anticipated. Only a few of the Makololo who left that place in November 1855 returned with him. Many had died, and others had formed new connections at Tete and its neighbourhood and preferred remaining where they were then living.

In May 1860 Mr. Mackenzie left Kuruman with his wife and child for the purpose of conveying supplies and joining his associates, who he hoped were then settled with the Makololo in the comparatively healthy district north of the Zambesi. On the way he heard accounts of what had happened, but discredited them, and went on till he reached the Zouga river. Meantime some Batawana informed Mr. Price that a white man was travelling slowly northward, and he immediately proceeded up the river in a canoe lent to him by Letshulatebe, arriving at the place of crossing just as Mr. Mackenzie was approaching it. His story was soon told, and the waggons were then turned in the direction of the lake, where Mr. Helmore's two little children had been left under the care of a wife of the friendly chief. From this place the survivors of the party returned to Southern Betshuanaland, and thus ended the attempt to establish a mission with the Makololo.

Towards the close of 1863 Sekeletu, who was afflicted with leprosy and who was so weak a ruler that his people despised him, was strangled by assassins employed by his leading vassals. The conspirators then seized his cattle and other property, which they divided among themselves. Upon this a chieftain named Mpololo, who was a son of a sister of Sebetoané and who resided north of the Zambesi, raised a strong force and fell upon the rebels, whom he exterminated with every member of their families and all their adherents. Mpololo then became chief of the remainder of the tribe, but he was so ferocious as a ruler that a section of the people in utter despair attempted to resist him, and civil war broke out.

Many of the best warriors fell in this strife, others when defeated fled to distant tribes, some even to their old enemies the Matabele. One band that made its way to the Batawana fell into an ambush, when every man was put to death by Letshulatebe's order, only the women and children being spared and adopted. Then the subject tribes, that had long been suffering under the tyranny of the Makololo, seeing an opportunity to escape from thraldom, suddenly rose upon their conquerors. Among them were the Barotsi, who have since become in their turn a conquering and ruling people, and who were then led by Sepopa,* son of a chief that Sebetoané had crushed. It was not merely a rebellion, it was a strife of extermination. When it was over the Makololo as a distinct tribe had disappeared from the face of the earth. The men had all fallen under the assagai or battleaxe, the young women and the children were among the spoil of the victors. This happened in 1865, and now the very name of the tribe that once caused such terror is almost forgotten in the land they ruled over.

Another large Bantu tribe residing in South Africa in a condition of independence of European control was the Ovaherero, with its offshoot the Ovambanderu commonly known to Europeans as the Cattle Damaras, who occupied the territory between the western coast north of Walfish Bay and the Kalahari desert. Between this tribe and the Hottentots south of the Swakop (or Zwachoub) river war had been carried on from the time of its entry into the country until 1840, sometimes one party, sometimes the other, getting the upper hand for a short time. Neither Ovaherero nor Hottentots, however, formed a solid body, and not unfrequently a Hottentot clan was found fighting on the Herero side and a Herero clan on the Hottentot side.

* Sepopa was almost as cruel as Mpololo, or Mpororo as called by some of his subjects, had been. He was murdered by his own leading men early in 1877, and then two claimants quarrelled for the chieftainship of the resuscitated Barotsi tribe. The successful competitor was Robosi, who under his present name Lewanika is favourably known in England as well as in South Africa.

In 1840 the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu, numbering together some eighty thousand souls all told, were thoroughly beaten by the Hottentot captain Jonker Afrikaner and his allies, and were reduced to a state of servitude. There were in the same territory some thirty thousand Ghou Damup or Berg Damaras and about three thousand Bushmen, but these tried merely to keep out of the way of every one else, and took no part whatever in the general affairs of the country. Their actions are of little more importance to the historian, in fact, than those of the antelopes they hunted, though to the ethnologist the people themselves afford an interesting study.

The Hottentots were not all descendants of the branch of their race that remained behind in Great Namaqualand when the main body crossed the Orange river and spread along the coast of the present Cape Colony, many of them were recent immigrants. The proclamation of the earl of Caledon on the 1st of November 1809, by which chieftainship was abolished and every one within the colony was made subject to the colonial laws, was resented by a few of the little bands that clung to their independence, and these moved north of the Orange to avoid its operation. Among them was a remnant of the Gei‖Khauas, who claimed that their head was a lineal descendant of the chiefs who governed the whole Hottentot people before they crossed the Kunene and broke up into numerous tribes. This claim was admitted by some of the others who best preserved the traditions of their race, and who paid a certain amount of deference to the chief of the Gei‖Khauas, though they did not consider themselves as in any way subject to his authority. Amraal, chief of this clan, died at a very advanced age early in 1865, and was succeeded by his son Lambert, who was then an old man. A few years later he died, when his son Andries Lambert, who afterwards gained notoriety as a daring robber, became chief. These people lived at a place called Gobabis, in territory that had been occupied by the Ovambanderu before the conquest of that tribe by the Hottentots.

Among the recent immigrants were also the followers of Jonker Afrikaner, son of the notorious freebooter, of whom an account has been given in previous chapters. This clan was much the strongest of all in a military point of view, though its numerical strength was less than that of several of the others, notably than that of an immigrant band under a man named Moses Witbooi. Jonker's residence was called Schmelen's Hope, but is now much better known by its Herero name Okahandja. It was situated in territory once occupied by Hereros, from whom it had been taken. There was a little band under a leader named Jacobus Izaak, and another under the captain David Christian. The last of these was the remnant of the |Amaqua tribe, that at the close of the seventeenth century lived on the coast between the Berg river and the Olifants. At a later date it moved northward to the bank of the Orange, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century occupied the territory about Pella. In 1814 the reverend Mr. Schmelen induced the clan, then numbering about three hundred souls, to migrate with him farther to the north, and it was with them that he founded the mission station Bethany in Great Namaqualand.

Altogether in 1860 there were five distinct clans of immigrant Hottentots in Great Namaqualand, numbering among them some seven thousand souls. There were also ten clans, independent of each other, of Hottentots properly termed Namaquas, who were descended from the band left behind when the remainder of their race moved over the Orange. These combined were supposed to number about twelve or thirteen thousand souls.

All of these people had been under instruction by missionaries, the Wesleyan and London societies having sent agents to labour among them in the early years of the century. These had been replaced by agents of the Rhenish society, and many of the people had become converts to Christianity. They had proved very intractable and self-willed, however, and were prone to engage in hostilities

under the flimsiest pretexts. From traders they had obtained an ample supply of firearms and ammunition, and as they were in possession of horses they were more than a match for ten times their number of Hereros. The temptation offered by the large herds of cattle owned by the last named people had been too great for the Hottentots to resist, and they had conquered the black tribes, deprived them of their property, and reduced them to a condition of abject servitude. If the Hereros had not been so numerous, and there had been no white men to give them counsel, in course of time they must have become like the Ghou Damup. At the beginning of the year 1863 the Hottentots were thus lords of the land and of the Bantu living on it, just as their ancestors at some former time had been, when the first black intruders came down from the north and were enslaved.

Where it was possible among the Ovaherero also the Rhenish society had established missions, which were productive of much benefit to that people. Previously a purely pastoral tribe, they had been taught to make gardens and to grow corn. The beds of the Swakop and other periodical rivers are in some places of great width, and are perfectly flat. Only at long intervals is there running water in them, but it was found that on these flats there was generally moisture near the surface, and that gardens could be made there to great advantage.

The principal station of the Rhenish society was named Otjimbingue. It was founded in 1844, at the junction of the Swakop with one of its northern tributaries, about one hundred and six miles or one hundred and seventy kilometres east-north-east of Walfish Bay. Prospectors for minerals made this place their centre, it was the depôt of a trade in ivory and ostrich feathers worth £40,000 a year, and was the head-quarters of the European hunters in the country. The next station in importance had been Okahandja, Jonker Afrikaner's residence, about ninety kilometres farther to the north-east, but the chief had compelled the

missionary to leave. There were ten others scattered about the country.

In 1863 the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu attempted once more to resist their oppressors. On this occasion they were assisted by a section of the red nation that had become independent of the main branch of that tribe of Namaqua Hottentots, and that was then under a captain named Abraham Zwartbooi, whose kraal was at Rehoboth. Jonker Afrikaner was now dead, and his son Christian Afrikaner had succeeded him.

The principal Herero chief, Kamaherero by name, and his people were reduced to the condition of herdsmen of Christian Afrikaner's cattle, but had managed to obtain some guns and ammunition, which provoked the wrath of their master. Whether they were in danger of losing their lives in a general massacre on this account, as they afterwards asserted and the Hottentots denied, is doubtful; at any rate they suddenly fled with the cattle in their charge, and sought shelter at Otjimbingue. Thereupon Christian Afrikaner, with the assistance of the main branch of the clan called the red nation, then under the chief Cornelis Oasib, attacked Otjimbingue, 17th of June 1863. The Hereros defended themselves with courage, and after several hours hard fighting the Hottentots were beaten back, leaving some two hundred dead on the ground, among whom was their leader. This was the first encounter in what has since been known as the Herero war of independence.

Christian was succeeded as head of his clan by his brother Jan Jonker Afrikaner, a much abler man, who set about procuring allies with the hope of maintaining the position that his father had filled. But the Bondelzwarts and other clans of Southern Namaqualand declined assistance, and announced their intention of remaining neutral; and even the northern clan under Abraham Zwartbooi, though a section of the red nation which was allied with him, not only refused its aid, but actually joined the Hereros against him.

Most of the European traders and hunters in the country resolved to preserve strict neutrality in the war, unless they were molested themselves, but a few of them allowed their sympathy with the party fighting for freedom to overcome the dictates of prudence.

In March 1864 Mr. Frederick Green headed a band of fifteen hundred Hereros who attacked Jan Jonker's kraal, killed several of his people, including his wife and daughter, burned twenty-two of his waggons, and seized four thousand head of cattle and over a thousand kilogrammes of gunpowder. But they did not succeed in humbling their enemy, who speedily rallied and followed them up for some distance when they retired.

In June 1864 the celebrated Swedish traveller and naturalist Mr. Charles John Andersson had one of his legs badly wounded in an engagement when leading a band of Hereros.

The Ovaherero and Ovambanderu in former years had been broken up into many clans independent of each other. The stronger of these had preyed upon the weaker, according to the orthodox Bantu custom, and feuds had arisen, which tended to make matters worse. But now, when it was a question whether they should become free or remain slaves to the Hottentots, the missionaries were able to induce them all to unite in a loose manner, and they elected Kamaherero, captain of the largest clan, as their head, with the title of paramount chief.

Having obtained assistance from every Hottentot clan in the northern part of Great Namaqualand except the one under Abraham Zwartbooi, and even pressed a number of Ghou Damup or Berg Damaras into his service, on the 3rd of September 1865 Jan Jonker attacked Otjimbingue again. His force was in three divisions, one of which was composed of horsemen, the other two of ox riders and men on foot. The Hereros were prepared for resistance, and met him with such determination that he was routed with the loss of all his pack oxen and what in a European army would be

termed commissariat stores. Only three Herero men were killed, but a good many were wounded, and eighty women that were cut off when trying to get to a place of safety were all put to death by the merciless Hottentots. These left on the ground between fifty and sixty dead or dying men, and they had many wounded whom they carried away with them.

Most of the European prospectors, hunters, and traders had left the country, as they saw no prospect of a speedy return of peace, but the missionaries remained at their posts. They were now to suffer in common with all the others. The first of their stations that was broken up was the one at Gobabis, the kraal of the captain Lambert, son of old Amraal who had just died. The missionary family was driven from the place by the people they had been trying to improve, and property valued by the Rhenish society at £2,000 was plundered and destroyed. The next one to be attacked was Rehoboth, the residence of Abraham Zwartbooi, who was an ally of the Hereros. The mission at this place was under the care of the reverend Mr. Kleinschmidt, a very able and zealous man, who had laboured there for a quarter of a century. It too was broken up, a number of women and children were barbarously burned to death, about £500 worth of mission property was carried off, and Mr. Kleinschmidt himself died from the hardship he underwent after being driven away. Abraham Zwartbooi and his people were obliged to flee, but they had a tract of land given to them by the Hereros much farther north, at a place named the Bokberg, where they settled and made a new home. In the following year, 1866, the stations Gibeon and Hoachanas were destroyed, many of the people residing there were killed, and mission property to the value of £500 was lost. The station New Barmen also was plundered, though not entirely broken up.

On the 13th of December 1867 Otjimbingue was attacked once more by Jan Jonker's Hottentots. They surprised the place at early dawn, but the Hereros sprang from their

mats and offered such a vigorous resistance that the attacking party could not obtain possession of the place, though they continued firing into it all day, and only retreated after nightfall. Their enemies accused them of using poisoned bullets, but this may not have been true. Thirty Hereros were killed, and as many more were wounded, some of whom died of their injuries.

After retreating from Otjimbingue, the Hottentots divided into two bands, and fell upon the little posts named Anawood and Salem. These places they took possession of and plundered, but while those at Anawood were feasting on the spoil, utterly regardless of the danger they were in, during the night of the 21st they were surrounded by a Herero army. At dawn on the 22nd the Hereros opened fire on them, when they charged in a body through the ring and escaped. They were pursued for about sixteen kilometres or ten miles, and a good many were killed.

Kamaherero, the principal chief, fearing another attack upon Otjimbingue, now abandoned that place, and retired with his people to Okahandja, from which locality Jan Jonker had been obliged to withdraw. Otjimbingue was for a time almost deserted,—in July 1868 there were only twenty or thirty persons, including children and the reverend Dr. C. H. Hahn, residing there,—but a few years later it was reoccupied and recovered its former importance.

In May 1868 a petty captain named Jacob Bois, whose territory lay along the coast, and who had a following of only three or four hundred souls, attacked a party of white men—Messrs. William Coates Palgrave, Frederick Green, and Robert Lewis—with a number of servants, who were on their way from the interior to Walfish Bay. An Englishman named Kennedy was killed, and the waggons with their contents and all the oxen were seized. Messrs. Palgrave, Green, and Lewis being well mounted, managed to save themselves by flight, and succeeded in reaching Sandwich Harbour, where they found a vessel which brought them to Capetown.

On the 23rd of the same month Bois fell upon the Rhenish mission station Scheppmansdorp, close to Walfish Bay. The lives of the reverend F. S. Eickhardt and his family were spared, and they were permitted to make their way as best they could to Sandwich Harbour, but the station was plundered and the missionary's cattle were driven off. On the following morning the band made its appearance at Walfish Bay, where one white man was killed. The others saved their lives by going on board a schooner that was at anchor in the bay, and sailed in her to Capetown. A fishing establishment and the buildings in which goods and provisions were stored by the traders and missionaries before being sent inland were plundered and destroyed. The Hottentots tried to justify these acts of Jacob Bois and the destruction of the various stations on the ground that European traders were assisting the Hereros against them, and that the sympathy of the Rhenish missionaries was notoriously with their opponents, if indeed they did not furnish their enemies with material aid.

Her Majesty's ship *Petrel* was at once sent up from Simon's Bay, but when she arrived in Walfish Bay not a soul was to be seen. The country to some distance beyond Scheppmansdorp was searched, without any one being found, so after remaining there three weeks the man-of-war returned to her station.

The Cape government then sent Mr. Piers, postmaster-general of the colony, to Great Namaqualand, to endeavour to induce some of the other Hottentot communities to compel Jacob Bois to abstain from attacking and robbing Europeans again, as it was impossible to inflict any punishment upon him. All that Mr. Piers could do was to persuade the captain David Christian, of Bethany, to use his influence with his sub-chief Bois in favour of order, and with this meagre result of his mission, in December 1868 he returned to Capetown.

In 1868 a party of mixed breeds from the Cape Colony, under the leadership of a man named Hermanus van Wyk,

migrated to Great Namaqualand, and in 1870 settled at Rehoboth with the consent of Abraham Zwartbooi, Kamaherero, and other chiefs. The influence of these people was exerted for the maintenance of peace and good order, so that the country benefited by their presence, though they were subjected to such losses by theft of their cattle that they could not advance in prosperity.

In 1868 the Hereros were successful in several engagements, and their good fortune continued until a crowning victory was obtained in a battle fought at Omukaru, about ten kilometres from Okahandja. In this engagement the Hottentots put forth their whole strength, but were routed with a loss of over two hundred of their best men killed, while the Hereros who fell numbered only seventy. The Hottentots now abandoned all hope of success, and were ready to make peace on any terms.

On the 27th of May 1870, through the agency of the Europeans in the country and some of the best disposed of the southern Hottentot captains, upon whom Sir Philip Wodehouse had exercised his influence, a meeting of the paramount chief Kamaherero, Aponda, chief of the Ovambanderu, and Jan Jonker Afrikaner took place at New Barmen, when a cessation of hostilities was agreed to and an assembly of all the chiefs on both sides was arranged to be held on the 23rd of September to conclude a formal treaty of peace and friendship. On that day there came together at Okahandja Abraham Zwartbooi, captain of the Namaqua clan at the Bokberg, and twenty-two chiefs of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu on one side, and Jan Jonker, captain of the Afrikaner clan of Hottentots, on the other. Twenty heads of Herero clans were absent, and of the Hottentot chiefs who had taken a leading part in the war, Barnabas, who had succeeded Cornelis Oasib as captain of the red nation, Karel Hendrik, captain of the Veldschoendragers, and Andries Lambert, captain of the Gei‖Khauas, did not put in an appearance. The three Hottentot chiefs David Christian, of Bethany, Jacobus Izaak, of Beersheba,

and David Witbooi, of Gibeon, who professed to be neutral, were present by invitation of both parties to confirm the peace that was to be made.

A formal treaty was drawn up by the reverend Dr. C. H. Hahn, and after some discussion the terms were agreed to by those present. It provided for the maintenance of a sincere peace, the perfect independence of the Hereros, the security of the roads, the safety of travellers, and the liberation of all Herero dependents among the Namaquas. So humiliated was Jan Jonker that in a clause of the treaty he accepted as a loan from the Herero chiefs the place Windhoek for himself and his people to live on with a Rhenish missionary. The document was signed on the 23rd of September 1870 by the chiefs present, and was witnessed by three missionaries and the so-called neutral chiefs. It was accepted by the belligerent captains who were absent as binding also upon them, and so peace was restored to the country for a time.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ANNEXATION OF WALFISH BAY TO THE CAPE COLONY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A GERMAN PROTECTORATE IN SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA.

It soon became evident that the peace concluded in 1870 was not a final settlement of the relationship to each other of the different races in Great Namaqualand and Hereroland. Jan Jonker Afrikaner was smarting under the indignity of holding ground merely by permission of his former servant, and was doing everything in his power to bring about a coalition of all the Hottentot clans in order to renew hostilities. The great herds of cattle that the Hereros had once owned were no longer to be seen in the country. The waste of animal life by the Hottentots after they took possession of those herds had been enormous, and then the lung sickness had broken out and carried off a large proportion of what was left. Still the number that remained was considerable, and now that the Hereros had them again in possession they were beginning to increase, for they were carefully tended and a cow or a heifer was seldom slaughtered. The Hottentots were in such a state of poverty as to be almost reckless, and needed only a fair pretence to renew the war, in hope of improving their condition, which in the opinion of many of them could hardly be made worse by defeat.

The half-breeds under Hermanus van Wyk at Rehoboth, being more industrious and more frugal than the other inhabitants, had acquired some property, and as they were living in amity with the Hereros and refused to enter into

Jan Jonker's schemes, the Hottentots were plundering them mercilessly in hope of driving them away.

The Hereros were breaking up into a number of little clans again, independent of each other, and some of them hostile to the main branch. Apart from the tendency to disintegration common to all pastoral tribes, the conduct of Kamaherero had much to do with this. Without ability or prudence, he was striving to make himself a despot, and was treating the other chiefs in a contemptuous manner. He went so far as to order them all to put out their fires and light them again from his, an act of acknowledgement of their dependence upon him which many of them refused to perform. With the pastures of the whole country north of the Swakop at his disposal, he caused his cattle to be driven to Windhoek to feed, as if purposely to taunt Jan Jonker and provoke him to seize them and thus renew the war.

In 1872 the missionaries, seeing the danger the country was in, induced Kamaherero and Aponda to attach their marks to a letter to Governor Sir Henry Barkly, asking for advice. They did not solicit British protection, but it was inferred that they would not object to the appointment of an English officer who would exercise a considerable amount of control over them. Nothing, however, was done by the high commissioner at this time in the matter.

In the following year an event that would be regarded as extraordinary in any country except South Africa took place. A number of farmers in the South African Republic decided to migrate to some other locality, rather than remain in a land whose president did not hold orthodox religious views. With their families and effects the first or leading party of these strong willed people moved away in great waggons drawn by oxen, and crossed the northern part of the Kalahari into a country bordering on that occupied by the Hereros. The flocks and herds that were driven on with them dwindled in the desert from want of water and food, and so terrible were their own sufferings

that their line of march was a line of graves of their dead. But still they went on, for when these men once resolve upon a course they do not swerve from it.

And so the survivors reached the hunting grounds west of the desert, and found not indeed such a country as they cared to settle in permanently, but one in which they could rest for a time till their cattle should recover and their friends behind should join them, when they would resume their journey in search of a home. This they found at last in Portuguese territory far away in the north-west, but in the meantime they moved about for several years on the border of Hereroland. The only permanent inhabitants there previously were a few Bushmen, but Europeans, Hottentots, and Bantu alike used it occasionally for hunting in.

The presence of the migrating farmers in their neighbourhood and the report that many more were coming caused much alarm to the Herero chiefs. Accustomed themselves to disregard the rights of the weak, they looked upon it as only natural that men stronger than they were should select the best pastures and take possession by force. How were they to prevent this? was the question which they asked themselves and requested their European friends to advise them how to answer. The only solution seemed to be to call in the aid of the Cape government, and so on the 21st of June 1874 a letter bearing the marks of Kamaherero and two other chiefs was sent to Sir Henry Barkly, begging for the interference of the British government. It was really the production, and expressed the views, of Messrs. S. A. Mumford and Frederick Green, though those gentlemen signed it merely as witnesses. At the same time letters and petitions were forwarded by various traders and travellers in the territory, complaining of the lawlessness of many of the people and asking for protection against violence. To make matters worse, coloured rovers of predatory habits were moving into Great Namaqualand from the country to the eastward, so that an intolerable condition of things was arising beyond the colonial border.

It was therefore from force of circumstances, not from any wish to acquire comparatively valueless territory, and thereby to incur expense and increase responsibility, that Mr. Molteno's ministry proposed to establish British authority along the coast. In the session of 1875 a resolution was submitted by the government, and was adopted by parliament, that it was desirable to extend the limits of the colony to Walfish Bay and such tract of country inland as might be deemed expedient and approved of by her Majesty, and that preliminary steps should be taken for placing the government in a position to bring in a bill for the annexation of the territory indicated to the Cape Colony.

To carry this resolution into effect, it was necessary to obtain an unbiassed account of the condition of the country, the views of the various chiefs; the prospect of obtaining a revenue that would meet or partly meet the cost of administration, and any other information of value that could be gathered. For this purpose, on the 16th of March 1876 Mr. William Coates Palgrave was appointed a special commissioner, and on the 10th of April he left Capetown to carry out the duties with which he was entrusted. Landing at Walfish Bay on the 25th of April, he commenced a tour through the country that occupied his time until the end of the year, of which he sent in a long and interesting report. His description of Walfish Bay and the country around it which subsequently became British territory will show the graphic power of his pen:

"Walfish Bay is formed by a low-lying promontory of sand, called Pelican Point, about seven miles (11·3 kilometres) in length, but of inconsiderable breadth. The entrance to the bay is its northern extremity, and its shape is nearly that of a horse shoe. Northerly winds are light in those latitudes, and as the bay is well sheltered from all other, it has the reputation of being very safe for every class of vessel, although those of large tonnage may not anchor within three-quarters of a mile (1,207 metres) of the beach at that part of the bay opposite to which the stores have been erected.

"But a more dreary scene than the coast about Walfish Bay can scarcely be imagined. There are no adjacent mountains to relieve its monotonous character, and no vegetation to enliven it. Low sand dunes

form a sort of fringe to the coast and oppose to the transport of the country the greatest obstacle. Through these sand dunes no permanent way has ever been attempted, partly because they are ever shifting and partly because the only practicable road to the plain beyond is for nearly four miles (6·4 kilometres) along the bed of the Kuisip, a periodical river which, although seldom in flood, has at times the force of a mountain torrent, when it would destroy the best road which considering the circumstances of the country could have been made.

"Another grievous obstacle to transport is the total absence of pasture and water in the immediate neighbourhood of the bay, though it must be explained that within a radius of ten miles (16 kilometres) some small patches of a short prickly grass are to be found here and there struggling with the wastes of sand, as well as a few reedy oases, the presence of these latter being usually indicative of water, which is however unfortunately brak and causes diarrhœa amongst the cattle unused to drinking it, whilst the sparsely scattered vegetation is not, either in quantity or quality, sufficient to sustain the poor beasts over that arduous part of their journey to and from the finer pasture of the settled interior.

"The natives living at Walfish Bay are a portion of a tribe called Topnaars, a branch of the Namaqua nation. They were once of importance, but have gradually deteriorated until they are now perhaps the most degenerate members of a rapidly degenerating family. Those of them who live at Walfish Bay do not number more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred souls. They have been led to choose this arid coast, partly on account of an edible gourd-like fruit called the naras, which grows all along that shore in great abundance, and on account of the facilities offered for the capturing of fish driven into the lagoon at the bottom of the harbour by the sharks which abound in the deeper waters; and partly too because of the remuneration they can from time to time obtain for their labour in carrying from the beach to the warehouses cargoes landed by the coasters from the Cape.

"The white population of Walfish Bay, consisting usually of not more than five or six persons, was at the time of my arrival augmented (to twenty-three souls) by the presence of some hunters and up-country traders who had come down for supplies. The stores are wood and iron buildings erected on an artificial mound of sand bags, and are rather depôts of merchandise for the up-country trade than what is ordinarily meant by stores. They are but four in number, and of these but two are of any size; one belongs to the Missions Handels Achtien Gesellschaft, the other to Messrs. Eriksson & Co., a Swedish house. These two firms do between them more than half of the trade of Damaraland, and are likewise employed as landing and forwarding agents for the other establishments."

Leaving the bay, Mr. Palgrave travelled for an hour in an ox-waggon over the low flat, which at very high tides is covered by the sea, and then reached the fringe of sand dunes. The only way of passing through them was along the sandy bed of the Kuisip, which had not contained any running water for nine years. On each side the undulating dunes rose in billowy waves from a metre and a half to fifteen metres in height, over which the creeping naras plants spread themselves, while along the river course stunted tamarisk trees grew abundantly. For twenty-two hours the oxen drew the waggon through the sand, and then it was necessary to outspan and send the exhausted animals to the Swakop, seven miles (11·2 kilometres) distant, to get water and grass.

After reaching the bed of the Swakop travelling was much easier, and at every stage water at no great distance from the surface, and grass were to be had for the cattle. The sand belt, which extends along the whole coast and upon which rain seldom falls, does not reach inland more than about forty miles or sixty-four kilometres, and beyond it the country rapidly improves and becomes fit for pastoral purposes.

The presence of the farmers on the border had the effect of solidifying the Herero tribe again, and as Mr. Palgrave proceeded on his journey he found the chiefs of the clans expressing submission to Kamaherero as paramount over them all. Wherever he went he was well received, for every one felt the need of protection. Several preliminary meetings took place, at which the advantage of being guided by a friendly European was talked over, and finally it was resolved that a general assembly of the chiefs and leading men of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu should be held at Okahandja, when an arrangement with the commissioner would be made. The discussions at this meeting showed that the chiefs were unwilling to part with their authority over the people, but were quite ready to receive a European officer as their nominal head and guide.

On the 9th of September a letter was drawn up and addressed to Sir Henry Barkly, in which his Excellency was requested "to send some one to rule them and to be the head of their country, and as they did not wish at first to have one who was a stranger to them, they prayed that Mr. Palgrave might be sent to manage their affairs, and they promised to give him all the help in their power. They wanted him to have authority in all cases in which other people than their own were concerned in any way, and they promised not to screen their own people from justice, but willingly to assist in carrying out the law and maintaining order in their country. They promised to set on one side a part of their country for the use of their government, and if more money was required for its maintenance than could be obtained from the ground set aside, they promised to collect from amongst themselves a sufficient amount for the purpose. They also asked that his Excellency would everywhere make it known that the sea boundary of their country was in his possession, and that they had given him the right to such ground as might be required for its protection, as well as for the building of towns and villages in the vicinity of all landing places." This letter received the marks of Kamaherero, twenty-eight chiefs of clans, and thirty counsellors and leading men, and it was witnessed by six Europeans who were present at the meeting.

As now arranged with Mr. Palgrave, a tract of land with defined boundaries was reserved for the exclusive use of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu, being the whole area that they then occupied and much to spare, and the remainder of the unoccupied territory beyond their border was placed at the disposal of the colonial government. After allowing for what was valueless and for reserves for Abraham Zwartbooi's Namaquas and the Berg Damaras, Mr. Palgrave estimated that sufficient would remain for at least four hundred cattle runs, where the pasture was excellent, but where in most instances it would be necessary to construct dams to conserve water. These cattle runs could be allotted to Europeans,

and he believed would readily be taken up. A moderate quitrent upon them, with trading and hunting licenses and a small tax upon the blacks, would bring in sufficient revenue, he thought, to cover the cost of such a simple administration as was needed.

The part of the country placed at the disposal of the government included the Kaoko, a healthy elevated tract of land, which was well covered with nutritious grass, and which was capable, if occupied by Europeans, of supplying four or five thousand oxen every year for sale. There were indications of copper ore all over it, and the Ovambo were known to obtain supplies of that metal from Bushmen at Otavé, some distance east of it, where there were enormous deposits of surpassing richness.

Having completed his task with the Hereros, who were unanimous in their desire for British protection, and whose attitude throughout had been most satisfactory, Mr. Palgrave proceeded next in a southerly direction to ascertain the views of the Namaquas. These people had not the same cause to look about for aid, because there was not the slightest fear of the migrating farmers desiring to settle in any part of the sterile territory which they occupied. There the waste of sand dunes extends farther back from the coast than it does north of the Kuisip, and between it and the Kalahari, except in a few localities of limited size, the pasture lands are not such as graziers would covet. The contour of the country is different. In Hereroland the rivers, when they flow, run from east to west, and enter the Atlantic. In Great Namaqualand the drainage is from north to south, and the outlet of water, when there is any, is into the Orange river.

The little clan of Gei‖Khauas at Gobabis and the clan calling itself the young red nation, under Abraham Zwartbooi at Bokberg, were differently situated from the others. The latter of these necessarily followed the lead of the Hereros, and the former, from its isolated position in the north-west, was at the mercy of any strong party coming down from

Lake Ngami. These Gei||Khauas had suffered very severely in the war of 1863-70, and had recently lost many of their number from small-pox. The clan was now only one third as strong as it was when the old chief Amraal died, and it had a very evil reputation with the traders, who could only reach the lake country from Walfish Bay by the way of Gobabis. They complained that either their waggons were plundered by the Gei||Khauas, or they were compelled to sell goods on credit with no prospect of payment, and were insulted and abused as well. The captain, Andries Lambert, and six of his principal men wrote on the 17th of April to Mr. Palgrave, asking to be received as British subjects, but when he requested them to explain their conduct to the traders they did not reply, and so no further notice was taken of them.

At Windhoek the commissioner met Jan Jonker Afrikaner and the captain of Beersheba, Jacobus Izaak, who was decidedly opposed to interference of any kind by the colonial government. No other arrangement could be made than for a general assembly of all the Namaqua captains at Beersheba on the 20th of November, to discuss the condition of the country. At the time appointed the captains were not there, so the meeting was postponed to the 27th. On that day the commissioner met Jacobus Izaak, of Beersheba, David Christian, of Bethany, Moses Witbooi, of Gibeon, two sub-captains, and three missionaries. Neither Jan Jonker Afrikaner nor Barnabas, chief of the red nation, was there, nor was William Christian, captain of the Bondelzwarts. Nothing whatever resulted from this conference, but at another meeting on the 29th the captains agreed to protect traders from robbery and violence. With no other result than this from his meetings with the Namaqua captains, Mr. Palgrave continued his journey in great discomfort from extreme heat, scarcity of water, and want of grass, till he crossed the Orange river into the colony.

In letters received from Jan Jonker Afrikaner, dated 12th of November, Jacobus Izaak, dated 9th of December,

William Christian, dated 22nd of December 1876, and David Christian, dated 16th of March 1877, those captains declared their willingness to receive a British resident in the country, who should have control over strangers, but who should not interfere in any way with their government of their own people, or have any right to dispose of land. They did not offer to contribute anything towards the support of such an officer, nor did they express any strong desire for his presence among them. It was evident that they preferred to be left alone.

Of the other inhabitants of the territory he had visited, the Ghou Damup and the Bushmen knew nothing of what was going on and cared for nothing but food and to be left alone to live in their own way. The European traders and hunters in Hereroland sent in an address, dated 11th of December 1876, asking for British authority to be extended over the country. They were thirty-eight in number, of whom fifteen bore English names.

Upon Mr. Palgrave's return to Capetown the government took the matter into consideration and resolved to send him back to complete the preliminary arrangements with the Hereros. Accordingly in September 1877 he was again in the country, but found that during his short absence a change had taken place in the opinions of many of the people, notably in that of Kamaherero himself. They had begun to think that the colonial government might have some evil designs in view, and to regard as somewhat mythical the existence of the strong armed force that might be necessary to protect them. That was after all the real object of their wishes, protection from enemies, with liberty to do themselves whatever they chose. Some of the Namaqua captains openly asserted that they would have nothing to do with the white man's government, as if they did they would lose their land, and Kamaherero had come to believe that perhaps they might be right. So suspicious was he that at first he refused to allow trading licenses to be issued, because if Europeans paid any taxes at all, he

said they would make that a pretext for claiming the country.

Though Mr. Palgrave's personal influence with the Hereros was very strong, it was with some difficulty that he induced the chief to alter his decision, and it was evident that he did so reluctantly. It was then arranged that an English magistrate with a staff of assistants should be stationed at Okahandja, that the expense should be partly met by the issue of trading licenses, and that Kamaherero should contribute two hundred oxen and four hundred sheep yearly to make up the remainder. His object in consenting to this was to recover by English aid the paramount chieftainship over many of the clans that at this time again were ignoring his authority. Having arranged this and some other matters of less importance, and made another tour through the country, in February 1879 the special commissioner returned to Capetown and sent in his report.

Things were different now in the colony from what they had been a year before. Towards the close of 1877 the ninth war with the Xosas commenced, which had the effect of deterring the ministry that came into power shortly afterwards and the people alike from undertaking any responsibilities in connection with tribes beyond the northern border that could be avoided. It was considered advisable merely to take possession of Walfish Bay, and to proclaim a protectorate over the coast, without establishing as complete an administration as in the territories east of the Kei, no other authority being exercised over the Hereros than such moral pressure as could be brought to bear upon them by a diplomatic agent. The view entertained by the secretary of state for the colonies was communicated to Governor Sir Bartle Frere in a despatch dated 23rd of January 1878, and was consequently acted upon. Earl Carnarvon wrote as follows:

"The conditions at the present time existing in those districts appear to point unmistakably to their union with the British communities of South Africa in the future, and it is of high importance not only to prevent any circumstances arising which could impede such a course,

but also to take such steps as may be necessary in preparation for the event. I have, therefore, as you are aware, approved of the steps taken in this direction in consequence of the resolution of the Cape parliament in 1875 and which were preparatory to the annexation of Walfish Bay.

"But the scheme which is sketched in your despatch is so extensive that I hesitate, especially under the existing circumstances of South Africa, to commit myself to an approval of it at the present moment. It is true that the formal annexation is not recommended of the vast regions specified, but I can by no means feel assured that a protectorate if established would entail upon South Africa and this country a degree of responsibility substantially less. It is evident from Mr. Palgrave's report that grave elements of discord exist among the native tribes, which may in the future, as they have in the past, produce destructive wars, and though no doubt by the appointment of commissioners of tried ability and courage much might be done to obviate such disorders, it cannot be affirmed that their efforts would of necessity be successful, while if they should be unsuccessful the government exercising the protectorate would find itself pressed to take active measures to restore peace, and thereby to assume a task which would be a severe strain upon its resources.

"Recent events on the borders of the Cape Colony and elsewhere have shown that the British communities of South Africa have at the present time native questions before them, the satisfactory settlement of which will tax all their energies, that the principles of native government have not as yet been finally determined, and that properly qualified officers for native administration are by no means easy to obtain. I cannot therefore think that the burden of native government in South Africa should, at the present moment, be materially increased.

"With regard however to Walfish Bay itself it appears to me that other considerations prevail. I learn from the observations of the colonial secretary in parliament in 1875 that there is already a very considerable trade from the colony in that direction. This trade may be reasonably expected to take larger dimensions; there are British residents on the spot, and practically no great number of natives; the harbour is good, and as I am informed the only safe one within a long distance; while finally there is an anxious desire on the part of the colony that possession of it should be taken, and that thus the only door of entrance to very large regions in which the colony is materially interested should be placed in the custody of Great Britain. For these reasons therefore I think that the step which has long been in contemplation should now be taken, and that the British flag should be hoisted in Walfish Bay; but that for the present at least no jurisdiction should be exercised beyond the shores of the bay itself.

"It would also be necessary upon this step being taken that provision should be made for the exercise of magisterial powers on the spot. You

will be able to advise how this can be best done, and whether there is any British resident to whom such powers could be entrusted, or whether provision should be made for periodical visits by some one charged with magisterial authority. You will however understand that any expense in this respect must be borne by the colonial government."

In accordance with this decision her Majesty's ship *Industry* was sent to Walfish Bay, and there on the 12th of March 1878 possession was formally taken by her commander for the British crown. In the proclamation which he issued on the occasion the boundaries of the territory thus annexed to the British dominions were declared to be "on the south a line from a point on the coast fifteen miles (24 kilometres) south of Pelican Point to Scheppmansdorp; on the east a line from Scheppmansdorp to the Rooibank, including the plateau, and then to ten miles (16 kilometres) inland from the mouth of the Swakop river; on the north the last ten miles of the course of the Swakop river; and on the west the Atlantic ocean." The area thus enclosed is in extent about four hundred square miles or a little over a thousand square kilometres. Its sole value consisted in its position, as it never can produce anything for exportation or for the support of human life.

The proceeding was ratified by her Majesty, and on the 14th of December of the same year letters patent were issued under the great seal empowering the governor to issue a proclamation annexing the bay and territory to the Cape Colony as soon as the Cape parliament should pass an act for the purpose. Practically it was now under the control of the Cape government, for Major D. Erskine, who had previously been colonial secretary of Natal, and who on the 1st of June 1878 was appointed resident at Walfish Bay, received his instructions from the secretary for native affairs in Capetown and sent his reports to that minister. So matters continued until the necessary act was passed by the Cape parliament in the session of 1884, and a proclamation was issued by Governor Sir Hercules Robinson on the 7th of August of that year, annexing the territory under the name of Walfish Bay to the Cape Colony.

making it subject to the colonial laws, and constituting it a magisterial district.

Shortly after the incorporation of Walfish Bay in the British dominions, an application was made to the colonial government for assistance and protection by Jan Jonker Afrikaner, who was then in an extremely wretched plight. All his plans to unite the various sections of the Hottentot race in the country under his own leadership had failed, a number of disaffected Koranas and Griquas in the Cape Colony that he had hoped would join him had not done so, and Kamaherero had stationed parties of men with cattle all around him, so that he had neither pasture nor hunting grounds. His people were half starved and in the most abject poverty. So the man who before the success of the Herero revolt was the richest and most powerful ruler between the Kunene and the Orange, in hope of obtaining relief from the Herero pressure, on the 6th of January 1879 addressed a letter to Sir Bartle Frere, requesting to be taken over with his people as British subjects. The letter bore in addition to his own the signatures of fifteen of his leading men and of the missionary at Windhoek, the reverend J. G. Schroeder. No notice was taken of it for more than a year, as the circumstances under which it was written were known in Capetown, but on the 12th of March 1880 a reply was forwarded to him declining the proposal.

The farmers who had migrated from the South African Republic were at this time encamped near the south-western border of Ovamboland, and it was reported in the Cape Colony that they had lost all their cattle and effects and were in a condition of dire distress. Their number was unknown, as was everything connected with their actual circumstances and intentions, except that they had undergone great suffering and that many had died. A committee was therefore elected by those benevolent persons in Capetown who sympathised with their countrymen in trouble, and subscriptions were collected for the purpose of sending them relief. A schooner named the *Christina* was chartered

and laden with provisions and other necessaries, some horses and mules were put on board, and two gentlemen named Joubert and Haybittle were engaged to proceed in the vessel up the coast to a point called Fort Rock, where it was believed a landing could be effected and the migrating farmers be communicated with.

In September 1879 both houses of the Cape parliament passed resolutions requesting the government to adopt measures for the relief of those people, and as a consequence the imperial authorities directed her Majesty's ship *Swallow* to accompany the *Christina* and render all the assistance possible. Mr. Palgrave was instructed to proceed in the *Swallow*, taking with him two capable men, six horses and mules, a travelling cart, saddles, and a quantity of stores, to coöperate with Messrs. Joubert and Haybittle.

On the 24th of September 1879 the *Swallow* left Table Bay. She called at Walfish Bay to take on board some Hottentot interpreters and to obtain the latest information concerning the distressed people, which was to the effect that they were no longer in a condition urgently requiring assistance. On the 2nd of October she left Walfish Bay, but upon arrival at Fort Rock it was found impossible to land on account of the heavy surf, so after various attempts made during the next six days, she proceeded to examine the coast northward to Cape Frio, and the *Christina* remained behind to watch the surf. The search for a landing place, though most carefully made, was unsuccessful, so at Cape Frio the *Swallow* put about. Keeping close to the shore on her way southward, and sending out her boats wherever any opening appeared in the line of surf caused by the rollers that even in the calmest weather broke with terrific force on the land, anchoring before dark and resuming the examination at daylight, she found not a single place where the expedition could disembark until she reached Walfish Bay again, on the 17th of October. The shifting sand hills also, that formed a continuous line a short distance inland, would have prevented access to the

country beyond them if a landing could have been effected. It was believed that if certain winds were blowing boats could reach the shore at Cape Cross, but that was mere chance, and could not be waited for.*

The *Christina* discharged her cargo at Walfish Bay, and the members of the expedition returned to Capetown, except Mr. Haybittle, who made his way overland to the farmers' camp. They numbered in all three hundred and three souls, but forty-nine others had left the main body and become hunters and traders. They had in their possession seventy waggons, but only three hundred and twenty oxen, from three to four hundred cows, and a few goats. As long as game was to be had they lived upon it and milk, but after all the wild animals within reach had been killed they suffered much from want of food. Then they made gardens, which gave large returns, especially of pumpkins, so that though they were in distress, they were not in danger of actual starvation. Having waggons and twenty spans of oxen, they were now able to draw upon the supplies at Walfish Bay; and not long afterwards they crossed the Kunene and settled in Portuguese territory.

Mr. Palgrave had made an arrangement with Kamaherero that an English magistrate should be stationed at Okahandja, and to keep faith with the chief a gentleman named Manning was appointed to fill the post temporarily. He, however, exceeded his powers by taking judicial cognisance of certain cases, and was therefore speedily recalled. On the 8th of January 1880 Major Benjamin D'Urban Musgrave was

* This is the spot where Diogo Cam erected a cross in 1485 to mark the southern termination of his discovery. The cross was still standing in 1879. Unfortunately the records of the Portuguese explorer's voyage are so scanty that it is impossible to ascertain the condition of the place at that time, and it is quite possible that he may have been able to land with the greatest ease. Owing to the tremendous swell setting in on a sandy shore, changes are constantly taking place along that coast, and in our own times more than one safe harbour enclosed by a sand spit like that at Walfish Bay has been reported by trustworthy persons to have been found, which when sought for a few years later has entirely disappeared.

appointed British resident, with instructions "not to exercise any magisterial functions, but to use whatever moral influence he might possess or acquire to discourage barbarism, repress crime, promote civilisation and order, and specially to protect the interests of her Majesty's subjects in Damaraland (Hereroland)." He was further "to keep the government fully informed of the moral, social, and material condition of the people and of the relations subsisting between them and the neighbouring tribes, and to furnish information upon all subjects affecting the interests of the colony." He was thus to be nothing more than a diplomatic agent or a consul.

Mr. Palgrave was at the same time appointed "commissioner to the tribes north of the Orange river," and was instructed to "return to Damaraland, and continue there his duties as such." He was to introduce Major Musgrave to Kamaherero and his people as the agent of the colonial government at Okahandja. He was "as far as practicable to make Walfish Bay his head-quarters, so that, in addition to his other duties, he might be able to take charge of that territory, administer its government, if found desirable, and until other arrangements could be made, collect customs there and perform all the functions of a magistrate, and prevent the introduction of firearms and ammunition unless the importers were furnished with a permit from the colonial government." He was also to "direct his attention towards obtaining a supply of labour by inducing Berg Damaras to go to the colony for the purpose of entering into contracts of service with the government or with private individuals or companies."

On the 11th of March Major Musgrave was formally introduced to Kamaherero, and took up his residence at Okahandja, but his position from the first was of little account. Mr. Palgrave too found hardly any other sphere of usefulness open to him than to act as a labour agent. The Ghou Damup or Berg Damaras were in a state of famine, and whenever they were caught stealing a sheep for food, or were even suspected of having an intention to do

so, were put to death by both Hereros and Namaquas with no more compunction than if they were vermin. The commissioner got a number of them together, and sent them by sea to Capetown, where they were given out in service, but were not found capable of performing any kind of labour requiring the smallest amount of manual dexterity or skill.

The northern Herero clans, who had disowned the paramount authority of Kamaherero, were at this time in a state of anarchy, and the Gei||Khauas at Gobabis had become little better than a band of robbers, so that on two borders neither life nor property was safe. A strong will, with physical force to support it, was needed in the territory, and there was nothing in its stead but the moral influence of two English agents upon suspicious and barbarous chiefs.

For ten years there was peace between the Hereros and the Namaquas, but there never was a friendly feeling on either side. In 1880 war recommenced. The immediate cause was the visit of about thirty Hereros to a Hottentot kraal to seek for a missing cow, which was not found, but three Hottentots were made prisoners and taken away. The friends of the prisoners at other kraals hastily assembled, followed the retiring party, and overtook it. The Hereros fired upon their pursuers, and were fired upon in return, when eleven of them fell and the others took to flight. The Hottentots pursued them, killed ten men, and seized about fifteen hundred head of cattle at the nearest Herero posts.

Upon learning this, Kamaherero gave orders that every Hottentot, whether man, woman, or child, that could be found was to be put to death. At Okahandja, his own residence, over twenty were murdered before daylight of the 23rd of August, and during that day a general massacre occurred at other places. At New Barmen twenty were killed. In some localities the order was interpreted to include Berg Damaras also, and a large number of these perished. It is impossible to say how many Hottentots fell, as the accounts are conflicting, but the whole number cannot have been larger than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. In

one place four, at another five, and so on, is the most that was recorded by the Europeans in the country at the time.

A Herero army was at once sent to surround Windhoek and destroy every one there, but Jan Jonker and his people had notice of its approach in time, and escaped in the night. He was pursued, but defended himself with such bravery that he succeeded in reaching Rehoboth with a loss of only six killed, while of his pursuers twenty fell.

During the next seven or eight weeks preparations for active hostilities were pushed on by both parties. The atrocities committed by the Hereros were so revolting that the whole of the Namaqua clans, with the exception of the Bondelzwarts under William Christian, joined in opposing them. Abraham Zwartbooi and his people were among the most active adherents of their cause. The mixed breeds at Rehoboth tried to remain neutral, but when six of them and a European were murdered by the Hereros while hunting, they too joined the Namaquas.

As soon as intelligence that war had broken out reached Capetown the colonial government recalled Mr. Palgrave, and directed Major Musgrave to remove from Okahandja to Walfish Bay and prevent the supply of munitions of war of any kind to either of the combatants, so as to preserve the strictest neutrality. At the beginning of November these instructions were carried out.

On the 10th of November the whole Namaqua force with the halfbreeds attacked New Barmen and got possession of the place, but during the following night a Herero army arrived, and in the early morning of the 11th drove them away with a loss of six halfbreeds and fifty-nine Namaquas killed, among whom was David Christian, the captain of Bethany. The victors made booty of their waggons, oxen, provisions, and everything else they had taken with them.

The attacks and forays on both sides continued after this, at short intervals, without either party gaining a decided advantage, but it would be wearisome, and could serve no good purpose, to give a detailed account of them. The

Topnaars, who were British subjects, joined Abraham Zwartbooi, and the Hereros threatened to attack Walfish Bay in revenge, while the resident there was apprehensive that the Hottentots might come upon him and plunder the stores to obtain the ammunition in them. In January 1882 a party of volunteers under Captain E. J. Whindus was sent from Capetown in her Majesty's ship *Wrangler* to protect the place, and the reverend Dr. C. H. Hahn, of the Rhenish mission, was commissioned by the governor to accompany him to endeavour to bring about peace. He succeeded in doing so between the halfbreeds and the Hereros and in obtaining promises from some of the captains, which resulted in a meeting of their representatives at Rehoboth on the 13th of June 1882, after his return to Capetown, and the conclusion of an agreement to cease hostilities between Kamaherero and the southern Hottentot captains. Jan Jonker Afrikaner and Abraham Zwartbooi, however, declined to attend the meeting, and so the wretched guerilla warfare went on as before.

In 1883 Mr. F. A. E. Luderitz, a merchant of Bremen, established a trading station at Angra Pequena, and on the 1st of May of that year purchased a small tract of land round the bay from Joseph Fredericks, who had succeeded David Christian as captain of Bethany, for two hundred rifles and £100 in money, and on the 25th of August he completed the purchase of another and much larger tract of land from the same captain for sixty rifles and £600.

In 1868 there had been some correspondence between the Prussian and British governments concerning the protection of the Rhenish missionaries and the trading association connected with that mission in Hereroland and Great Namaqualand, but nothing came of the matter then, and the peace concluded in 1870 did away with the necessity for action. Mr. Luderitz now applied to his government for protection, and communications were opened between the German authorities and the foreign office in London on the subject, though nothing was said or written that could lead

to the supposition that Germany had any design of taking possession of the whole country. The time, however, had arrived when there was a general scramble for those parts of Africa not already under European rule, and even upon this, next to the Sahara for colonising purposes the least valuable district in the continent, Germany had cast a covetous eye.

The Cape Colony had for several years been desirous of annexing the coast line, not for anything to be derived from the country behind it, but simply to prevent unauthorised trading that might interfere with the customs regulations. The expense—in which term was included not only the maintenance of the necessary officials, but the charges incidental to the responsibilities of every kind that would be incurred—was the only difficulty, and this prevented the imperial government from giving its sanction until the correspondence with Germany commenced. Then the secretary of state for the colonies signified his consent if the Cape government would undertake to bear the whole cost. This was agreed to, and on the 16th of July 1884 a resolution was passed by the house of assembly "that it was expedient to provide for the annexation to this colony of the coast line between Walfish Bay and the mouth of the Orange river and between Walfish Bay and the southern boundary of the Portuguese possessions." On the 18th of the same month this resolution was passed by the legislative council also.

Meantime Mr. W. C. Palgrave had been sent again to Great Namaqualand and Hereroland to ascertain whether the various chiefs and clans there were still desirous of coming under British sovereignty; whether, in that case, they were willing to contribute towards the cost of a simple governmental establishment and a police force to protect and preserve order among them; and further, to ascertain the exact condition of affairs in the country, the amount that might be raised annually from trading licenses, and generally anything else of importance to be known. Mr. Palgrave

proceeded to various parts of the territory, with Mr. Peter de Smidt as his secretary, and received the assurances of the leading chiefs that they were not only desirous, but anxious, to place themselves under British rule as a means of restoring and preserving peace; and he devised a plan by which, as he thought, the cost of government could be met; but he had not concluded his task when he was recalled, as the action of the German government had made his mission useless.

At this time British subjects held concessions from Herero and Namaqua chiefs of greater value than that which Mr. Luderitz had obtained from Joseph Fredericks, the captain of Bethany. Notably, Mr. Daniel De Pass, of London, and Captain John Spence, of Capetown, had acquired extensive rights at Sandwich Harbour and along the coast below Angra Pequena, as well as the lease of what was called the Pomona mine, where they had expended much capital. The establishments along the coast for catching and drying fish were owned in Capetown, and part of the trade was conducted by Englishmen. The hunting grounds had been almost cleared of game. On the other hand the missionaries were Germans, except in the far north of the territory, where in 1869 a mission had been established by the Finnish evangelical society. Part of the little trade that was left, now that ivory and ostrich feathers were no longer to be had, was also in German hands.

On the 7th of August 1884 by order of the emperor Wilhelm I Captain Schering of the corvette *Elizabeth* hoisted the German flag at Angra Pequena and proclaimed a protectorate over the coast and a belt of land along it twenty geographical miles in width from the Orange river to the 26th degree of south latitude, and a day or two later Captain Von Raven, of the German gunboat *Wolf*, hoisted his flag and issued at Sandwich Harbour and Cape Frio a similar proclamation respecting the coast from the 26th degree of latitude northward to Cape Frio, excepting the British territory at Walfish Bay.

On the 15th of August the German consul in Capetown informed the government of the first of these acts, and soon the full significance of the occurrence — that another factor had been introduced into South African affairs—came to be realised. The first difficulty was in connection with the twelve guano islands off the coast. Mr. Luderitz laid claim to them as being within cannon shot of the mainland, and he wanted the British subjects who leased them from the Cape government expelled. They were the most valuable asset of the country, if mineral wealth should not be found. The act of 1873 by which they had been annexed to the colony * was regarded in England as informal, but it had been rectified by an act approved of on the 6th of July 1874, which was based on authority derived from letters patent issued by her Majesty on the 27th of February 1867, and since that date they had been as much a part of the colony as Robben Island at the entrance to Table Bay. The German government did not contest this fact, and so the twelve islands on the coast and Walfish Bay with the little territory around it remain under the British flag and parts of the Cape Colony, and all the remainder of the country from the Orange river in the south to the Portuguese possessions in the north, and from the Atlantic ocean on the west to the twentieth meridian from Greenwich on the east, with an additional tract in the shape of a rectangle on the north-east, which makes the Zambesi its border there, in course of time became a dependency of the German empire.

*See Vol. II, page 236.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE COLONY OF NATAL, 1857 TO 1872.

JOHN SCOTT, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, RETIRED 31ST OF DECEMBER 1864.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN MACLEAN, C.B., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 31ST OF DECEMBER 1864, LEFT NATAL ON LEAVE OWING TO ILL HEALTH 26TH OF JULY 1865, AND SHORTLY AFTERWARDS DIED.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN WELLESLEY THOMAS, C.B., ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, FROM 26TH OF JULY TO 26TH OF AUGUST 1865.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN JARVIS BISSET, OF THE CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, FROM 26TH OF AUGUST 1865 TO 24TH OF MAY 1867.

ROBERT WILLIAM KEATE, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 24TH OF MAY 1867, RETIRED 19TH OF JULY 1872.

ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, ESQRE., C.M.G., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 19TH OF JULY 1872.

THE progress of Natal from 1857 to 1872 was as rapid as could reasonably have been expected of a colony which did not attract European settlers in large numbers. The swarms of Bantu upon its soil deterred those who were leaving Great Britain for other lands from selecting it as a suitable place in which to endeavour to make new homes, as it was feared that neither life nor property would be safe in presence of such a host of barbarians. The resources of the government also were too slender to do much in the way of assisting immigrants, either by providing free passages

or offering employment on large public works. People resident in the colony could indeed get out relatives and friends from Great Britain by guaranteeing to repay within twelve months to the government £10 towards the cost of passage of each statute adult, but the number thus introduced was very small. From 1857 to the close of 1864 it amounted only to one thousand seven hundred and three individuals, and during the next four years it averaged less than a hundred a year, when it ceased altogether.

Great hopes were entertained that large numbers of settlers would be introduced by an association termed the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, which was formed in England in December 1860, with a capital of £225,000 in £10 shares. This company had acquired from speculators who took part in its formation two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land in the colony at 11*s.* 6*d.* an acre, payable in shares, and it professed to have in view the settlement of Europeans upon its property. But it never did anything to promote colonisation. On the contrary, it commenced its operations by leasing ground to Bantu, and finding that method of realising large dividends answer, it continued the system until any attempt to disturb its tenants would have been dangerous. A few years later it was receiving as much as twenty-eight shillings on an average as yearly rental from the proprietor of each hut upon its estates. And this method of making money, so detrimental to the interests of the colony, was followed by many other large landowners, until Natal became like a huge Bantu location with a few centres of European industry in it.

In accordance with proposals made by an immigration board, in 1865 the legislative council adopted a scheme of encouraging immigrants, under which tracts of land in the southern part of the colony suitable for agricultural purposes were to be laid out in plots varying in size from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres, passages were to be given to selected persons on payment of £5 for each statute adult, who should receive an order for ground to the value of £10, but not a

title to it until after two years occupation. As crown lands after July 1858 could be sold in freehold only at an upset price of four shillings an acre, this was equivalent to an offer of fifty acres free for each adult in a family. Further, crown lands were to be offered on lease at fourpence an acre for seven years, with the right of purchase at ten shillings an acre, subject to occupation and improvement. Dr. Robert James Mann, superintendent of education, was detached for special service for two years, and was sent to England to endeavour to procure settlers under this scheme.

Mr. Cardwell, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, disapproved of the plan, however, on the ground that none but persons of the labouring class would be attracted by it, and for them, in his opinion, there was no room in Natal. Already out of eleven and a half millions of acres in the colony, over seven millions had been granted to individuals, while only thirty-eight thousand acres were cultivated, and the whole European population amounted to little over sixteen thousand souls. He suggested the imposition of a land tax, which would cause speculators to sell, and thus attract immigrants with capital as cultivators. But on the 6th of July 1866 the earl of Carnarvon succeeded Mr. Cardwell at the colonial office, and very shortly afterwards he consented to Dr. Mann making an effort to procure settlers on the following conditions:

Blocks of land suitable for agriculture were to be selected and laid out in plots of two hundred acres each, which were to have a good road along them. Every alternate plot was then to be offered as a free gift to a family possessed of capital to the amount of £500, but the title would not be given until after two years continuous occupation. The grantee was to have the right of purchasing the vacant plot adjoining his own at any time within five years at ten shillings an acre. Tracts of land suitable for pastoral purposes only were to be laid out in plots of fifteen hundred acres each, and offered on leases of five years at two pence an acre, with the right of purchase of a small area within

the boundaries. And to suit people of very limited means, plots fifty acres in size, with a right to the use of a commonage, were to be offered as free grants to agriculturists who could pay £5 towards the cost of passage of each statute adult in their families and give proof of their ability to maintain themselves for six months.

Under these conditions Dr. Mann endeavoured to obtain a suitable class of emigrants from Great Britain, but met with very little success. Already the number of agriculturists in England had greatly diminished, owing to the repeal of the corn laws, and those who remained showed no inclination to remove to a country occupied mainly by barbarians. Townspeople could have been had, but these were not needed, as they would be consumers, not producers of anything that could find a market.

A few families from Great Britain, a rather larger number from the Cape Colony, and some little parties from different European countries, however, migrated to Natal at this time. A band of settlers, ninety individuals in all, had been sent from Holland by the Netherlands Emigration Company, and in September 1858 had been located at a place which they called New Gelderland, a few kilometres north of the Umvoti river. Being under the direction of an able and enterprising man, Mr. T. W. Colenbrander by name, the majority of these people had been successful in making comfortable homes, and this being reported in Europe attracted some notice. They turned their attention chiefly to cane-growing, and in 1872 the largest sugar mill in the colony was on their estate.

In 1869 and 1870 the diamond fields along the lower course of the Vaal, then recently discovered, attracted many of the inhabitants of Natal, and at this time and for several years to come the number of Europeans who abandoned the colony was in excess of those who entered it. Among them was a young man whose name has become famous throughout the world,—Cecil John Rhodes,—who had for some time been farming unsuccessfully.

But if European immigration was small, people of another race were beginning to make their appearance in Natal, people who were destined in later years to eject the white man from many occupations and to alter the whole conditions of life in the colony. Owing to the precarious supply of rough field labour afforded by the Bantu, sugar, coffee, and cotton planting could not be carried on with any prospect of success, and as early as 1856 the legislative council approved of the introduction of coolies from Hindostan and requested the lieutenant-governor to make regulations regarding them. No one appears to have foreseen that these people would ever be anything but rough labourers, and no objection was therefore made to the measure. It was supposed indeed that they would be desirous of returning to India when their term of service had expired, so that their temporary presence could do no possible harm.

Indians were therefore brought over at the public expense in the first instance, the planters to whom they were allotted as labourers binding themselves to repay to the government within a stated time the cost of their passages. The men were to receive wages at the rate of 10*s.* a month for the first year of service, 11*s.* a month the second year, and 12*s.* a month the third year; they were to be comfortably lodged, to be provided with proper medical attendance when ill, and to be supplied with rations consisting of a pound and a half (680·38 grammes) of rice or two pounds (907·18 grammes) of stamped maize a day, besides two pounds of dholl, two pounds of salted fish, one pound of ghee or oil, and one pound of salt a month. Females and boys under ten years of age were to receive half rations, and were to be at liberty to make what terms they could with the employers of the heads of their families. Upon the expiration of their terms of service they were to be provided with free return passages to India. Cheaper labour than this could hardly have been desired.

Various enactments were made in the following years concerning the introduction of coolies. In 1859 a law was

passed which prohibited labourers being brought from the East, except from British India, without a special license from the lieutenant-governor, under penalty of a fine of £50 or three months imprisonment, and the persons so attempted to be brought in were to be sent back at the cost of the owner, agent, or master of the ship. But beyond this no attempt was made to prevent Natal from becoming an Asiatic settlement.

All coolies introduced were required to be transferred by the master of the ship to an officer entitled the protector of immigrants, whose duty it was to see that they were treated according to the regulations.

In 1864 the council resolved to raise a loan of £100,000 at six per cent interest per annum, for the purpose of introducing coolies. One third of the passage money was to be paid by government. The term of assignment to planters was extended from three to five years, and the rate of wages was fixed at 14*s.* a month for the fourth year and 15*s.* a month for the fifth.

Before the close of 1865 nearly six thousand coolies had been introduced, and as yet no evil effects were felt from their presence. The demand for European skilled labour had increased, as overseers, engineers, and mechanics were required on the plantations; and those Indians who preferred to remain in the colony after the expiration of their term of service, rather than return to their native country, had accepted employment as domestics or labourers. Colonists who had experienced the want of reliable servants were therefore not only willing but anxious that more should be introduced, and that some of them should remain in Natal permanently.

This feeling gained ground until 1870, when a law was enacted that every coolie should be entitled to a free passage back to India after ten years residence in the colony, five years of which must have been passed as a contracted labourer, but if he did not care to return he could have crown land to the value of the passage. Most of the coast

lands south of Durban were then occupied by Bantu, and the best of those north of the port were possessed by Europeans, or Natal might have become an Indian colony under the operation of this law.

The indentured Indians were followed by others of the trading class, who came from different parts of Southern Asia as free immigrants, and who could not then be excluded, although from the first it was recognised that they were a menace to the Europeans.

Gradually — almost imperceptibly — these people and the coolies, who had no interest in returning to Hindostan, but a very strong interest in remaining in the pleasant country that afforded them the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood, got into their hands almost all the easy occupations that in the early days it was hoped white men would have secured. Europeans with the ordinary standard of living could not compete as petty traders, as market gardeners, or in light mechanical pursuits with men who could thrive on a fifth part of the same returns, and were thus compelled to abandon the field. The elimination of this class of persons gave a preponderance to those who benefited for the time being by coolie labour, and who were content to resign the hope of Natal becoming a European settlement or the wish that she should advance in a line with the other great communities in South Africa. The security of the colony was affected, for the Indians contribute nothing to its defence. It is thus a land of planters using chiefly imported coloured labour, and of conveyancers of goods to and from the interior.

To secure as much as possible of the trade of the territories beyond the Drakensberg became now the first object of the government and the people. The customs duties on goods imported from oversea were made considerably lower than those of the Cape Colony, being after the 1st of July 1867 only six per cent of the declared value of all articles not admitted free or specially classified. Strenuous efforts were made to improve the entrance to the harbour, by the

construction of piers that it was hoped would cause the removal of the bar. Unfortunately much money was wasted in this undertaking, though the first plan adopted was a good one, as has been proved in recent times. While it was being carried out, however, another, very dissimilar, which had been designed by Captain Vetch, of the harbour department of the admiralty, was substituted, and the earlier work was abandoned. Money was raised by the government on loan for twenty-three years at six per cent interest per annum, as a first charge upon the revenue of the colony, and was expended upon a pier that afterwards proved useless.

To convey goods from the landing place at the Point to Durban over the heavy sand that intervened, in June 1859 a local company was incorporated with a capital of £10,000, and the first railroad in South Africa was constructed. In 1860 it was opened for traffic. In 1865 the government resolved to construct a line from some quarries on the Umgeni river to a junction on the Durban-Point railway, and to extend the latter to the harbour works, chiefly for the conveyance of stone. This railway was opened for traffic on the 23rd of January 1867. For convenience in working it was leased to the Natal Railway Company, and was controlled by that association.

In 1864 the construction of a lighthouse on the Bluff was resolved upon by the government. An iron tower, 24·69 metres in height, was erected, and a revolving light was first exhibited from it on the 1st of January 1867.

Roads fit for traffic by bullock waggons were made to the borders of the two republics, and bridges were constructed over several of the rivers. Unfortunately, during a great flood which occurred at the end of August 1868 most of these bridges were washed away, and much damage was otherwise done. From four o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th to six o'clock in the morning of the 31st of that month twelve and three quarters inches, or 32·36 centimetres, of rain fell at Maritzburg and sixteen inches and a half, or

41·88 centimetres, at Durban, so that the rivers rolled down in mighty floods, sweeping everything away before them.

Sugar planting had now become the principal industry along the coast north of Durban. With experience it had been ascertained that the situations selected by the first cultivators were not by any means the most suitable for the growth of the canes, but large areas of land well adapted for the purpose had been brought under cultivation. There had been many failures in this industry, owing to want of sufficient capital and experience, but new planters throve upon the wrecks of the old. In 1872 there were six thousand two hundred and eighty acres of ground under cane, and the sugar produced amounted to 8,795,000 kilogrammes or eight thousand six hundred and thirty-eight tons avoirdupois. There were then eighty-three steam factories for crushing cane and making sugar in the colony.

The civil war in the United States of America caused a great scarcity of cotton in England and a consequent rise in the price of that article, which induced many persons in Natal to turn their attention again to its production, especially as Indian labour was now available. In 1861 it was taken in hand, and found to grow well even in some situations on the second terrace from the coast. But in addition to the occasional destruction of crops by drought, floods, frost, hail, and high winds—to all of which Natal is subject, though losses from such causes are not more frequent there than in England itself—the charges for carriage to Europe were then excessively high and the cotton plant was attacked by insects to such an extent that the industry never proved profitable, and after efforts extending over several years its cultivation was abandoned.

In 1863 coffee, which had long been grown in Natal, though not to any large extent, suddenly became a favourite article of production, and many plantations on a considerable scale were laid out. It was subject to the same drawbacks as cotton, except from insects, but for many years it throve, and came to be regarded as a permanent product of the

colony. In 1872 there were three thousand seven hundred acres of ground laid out as coffee plantations, and the crop of that year amounted to 763,864 kilogrammes or one million six hundred and eighty thousand five hundred pounds, when ready for the market.

Wheat, though it grows well in various parts of the high terraces, never was cultivated to a large extent. It could not be conveyed to the lower country at a price that would enable it to compete with sea-borne grain from America or Australia, and consequently the bread used in Durban and along the coast was made of imported flour. In 1872 there were only nineteen hundred acres of land in Natal producing wheat. The colonists found maize more profitable. It was easily cultivated, the returns were large, and it supplied the most suitable food for coloured servants and for fattening hogs. It could often be purchased at a cheap rate from the Bantu in the locations, but this source of supply was not depended upon. In 1872 the colonists had over sixteen thousand five hundred acres of ground planted with maize. Oats and barley were cultivated to a considerable extent, solely as food for horses. The variety and quality of vegetables and fruit grown in the gardens and orchards wherever Europeans lived were not excelled in any country of the world.

In 1871 a very destructive disease, termed redwater, made its appearance among the horned cattle on the coast lands, and soon spread over the colony, almost paralysing for a time the transport of goods to the interior and causing great loss to the farmers.

During this period great progress was made in promoting education and in perfecting judicial institutions.

A high school and a common school were established in Maritzburg and in Durban, supported by the government, and schools of a less pretentious character, aided by public funds, were scattered over the colony. In 1872 besides the four purely government schools, there were seventy-six schools in Natal receiving aid from the treasury.

The recorder's court had been abolished, and by an ordinance passed in July 1857 a supreme court was established, consisting of a chief justice and two puisne judges, of whom two formed a quorum. One of the judges went periodically on circuit, as in the Cape Colony. The supreme court held its sessions at Maritzburg, with open doors, and the proceedings were conducted solely in the English language. It was provided with a master, a registrar, and a sheriff. Criminal cases were tried by one judge and a jury of nine men, the agreement of two-thirds of whom was necessary to convict. In civil cases, if the plaintiff or the defendant desired it, one judge and a jury could decide the matter. When cases of a value of over £20 were tried before the circuit court without a jury, there was an appeal to the supreme court; and in cases of great importance there was an appeal from the supreme court to the privy council in England.

On the 2nd of December 1862 the Klip River county was divided into two magisterial divisions: Ladysmith and Newcastle. In 1872 there were eleven resident magistrates carrying out justice within the colony.

In one respect there was retrogression to a slight extent. In June 1857 the ordinance of 1854 to establish county councils was repealed, as it was found that the European population was too scanty to maintain them efficiently.

The colony had been enlarged on the south by the addition of the land between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers. Averse as the imperial government was at this period to any extension of its responsibilities in South Africa, the condition of this district was such that the measure could not be avoided. The Pondo chief Faku had been unable to reduce the clans there to subjection, and protested that he ought not to be held responsible for their conduct in accordance with the treaty that had been entered into with him.

On the 9th of December 1863 letters patent were drawn up at Westminster empowering the lieutenant-governor to

issue a proclamation annexing it. In 1865 the surveyor-general was directed in concert with Sir Walter Currie, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police of the Cape Colony, to inspect the territory and lay down a convenient boundary. These gentlemen fixed upon a line commencing at the junction of the Ibisi river with the Umzimkulu and running thence to the nearest point of the ridge forming the watershed between the Ibisi and Umzimkulwana, thence along that ridge to the Ingele range, along the summit of that range to a large beacon which they erected at its western extremity, and thence straight to the nearest source of the Umtamvuna. On the 7th of September 1865 this boundary was proclaimed, and on the 13th of the same month the annexation was legally completed, though it was not until the 1st of January 1866 that the British flag was formally hoisted, and the residents in the territory —thereafter termed the county of Alfred — were informed that they were British subjects. They were so numerous in it that there was no vacant ground for European settlers. By this annexation the area of the colony was increased to 18,750 square miles, or 48,000 square kilometres.*

The Bantu at this period gave very little trouble. In June 1859 an ordinance was issued which prohibited the sale or gift of a gun or ammunition to any of them, under penalty of a fine not exceeding £50 and imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not longer than two years. Under the same penalty every one of them was prohibited from possessing a gun or ammunition without the written permission of the lieutenant-governor. Charges of infringement of this ordinance could be tried in any magistrate's court, so that offenders could hardly escape punishment. By an ordinance of 1863 the sale of intoxi-

* Natal is now, in 1907, nearly double that size. By the annexation of Zululand and the territory to the southern Portuguese boundary over ten thousand square miles or twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty-one square kilometres were added to it, and by the incorporation of the district of Vryheid it gained another seven thousand square miles or eighteen thousand one hundred and forty-five square kilometres

cating liquor to them was prohibited under penalty of a fine of £10 or three months imprisonment for each offence, which removed another source of danger.

On the 27th of April 1864 letters patent were issued at Westminster, by which the Bantu locations in Natal were placed under the permanent charge of a trust consisting of the lieutenant-governor and the executive council for the time being, who were to control everything connected with the ground for the benefit of the Bantu alone, so that it could not fall into the hands of Europeans. The locations, together with grants to mission societies for the use of black people, covered rather more than two million three hundred thousand acres of land. The locations were reserved entirely for the use of Bantu who lived in their old tribal manner under their own hereditary chiefs, over whom the lieutenant-governor since 1851 had occupied the position of supreme chief. In this capacity he exercised the right of calling out labourers for public works, issuing orders for this purpose to the respective chiefs, and fixing the number of men each one was to supply. This was in full accordance with Bantu custom, and only differed from ancient practice in that the labourers were now paid wages, though not at a high rate.

The right of calling out labourers from the locations for public works, especially for making roads, was one of the causes of the Bantu preferring to live on vacant crown lands or on ground hired from Europeans, where they would be free from this liability. Other causes operated in the same direction, and at the present day (1907) two hundred and sixty-six thousand Bantu are found on the forty-two locations and the mission reserves, and four hundred and twenty-one thousand on private property. A law made as far back as 1855 to prevent these people settling without leave on vacant land belonging either to the crown or to private individuals could not be enforced, and another law made in 1871 in which tenants on private land were dealt with remained also partly inoperative. The pressure of such an enormous mass of barbarians as had

been allowed to enter and settle in Natal was so great that the few white colonists were almost helpless before it.

The Bantu were not subject to European law, but under the influence of Christian missionaries some individuals among them had adopted civilised habits, and the number was constantly increasing. In 1872 there were nearly forty mission stations maintained by various societies within the borders of the colony, and the result of so much instruction, though not so great as might have been wished for, was plainly perceptible. A question thus arose as to the political position which those Bantu who had adopted a civilised mode of life should occupy. It was settled in such a manner as to encourage individuals to abandon the habits of barbarians, while avoiding the danger of giving political privileges to persons with only a thin veneer of civilisation.

Any black who was living as a monogamist in an orderly manner according to European ideas could petition to be exempted from Bantu law, and to be registered as subject to the colonial law alone. In 1865 it was enacted that any male black resident in Natal for twelve years and exempt from Bantu law for seven years, and who should procure a certificate from three electors of European origin, endorsed by a justice of the peace or the magistrate of the county in which he should be residing, testifying that they had known him for two years, that he was a well-disposed subject, and had never been convicted of felony, should, if he possessed the other ordinary qualifications, be entitled to petition the lieutenant-governor for a certificate enabling him to be registered as a voter.

Under this system a good many Bantu in course of time became exempt at their own request from the operation of the laws of their people, and the number who became entitled to the franchise was very small indeed, never exceeding half a dozen. Mixed breeds, however, and any other coloured people except pure Bantu and Indians, if they possessed the same property qualification as Europeans,

were entitled to the franchise, so that the electorate was never purely white colonial.

Mr. Keate's term of administration was marked by continual strife between the elected members of the council and the executive. For several years prior to 1865 the colony was supposed to be in a flourishing condition, and expensive civil establishments were created. The lieutenant-governor's salary, which had been originally only £800 a year, was raised to £2,500, and the other officials also obtained considerable increases. Subsequently, the colonists considered it necessary to reduce the expenditure; but the elected members of the council and the executive could never agree as to the manner in which retrenchment should be effected. The council claimed control over the revenue, and refused to adopt the estimates submitted by the government. Then occurred disputes and wranglings of no ordinary kind. Money which was voted for public works and other purposes was taken by the lieutenant-governor to pay the officials. The council argued that salaries had been raised when everything bore high prices, and as the cost of living was now reduced and the colony was in distress, it was only fair that the officials should receive less pay. Mr. Keate objected to retrenchment on a large scale, and did not even affect to feel sympathy with the people.

In 1869 the council requested the imperial authorities to allow six more elected members to be added to it, and to deprive the official members of the right of voting, limiting them to debate only. The expenditure was then in excess of the revenue, and to rectify this it was proposed to require the Bantu to contribute yearly at an average rate of four shillings each, to reduce the lieutenant-governor's salary to £1,800 a year, to amalgamate the offices of colonial secretary and secretary for native affairs, to reduce the salaries of those officers holding seats in the council by £100 per annum each, to reduce the salaries and pensions of the judges, and to effect retrenchment in various other ways.

These proposals were forwarded by Mr. Keate to the secretary of state for the colonies, who refused to sanction them, on the ground that the circumstances of Natal did not warrant a diminution of the power of the crown in the legislative body. "So long as her Majesty's troops remain in the colony," he wrote, "the home government must retain its control over the taxation and government of the natives and of all that falls under the head of native policy; and experience shows that this cannot be done without retaining an effectual control over all policy, whether European or native." But to make the acts of the executive government more popular, the lieutenant-governor was empowered to appoint to the executive council two of the elected members of the legislature, to hold their seats until the dissolution or other termination of the council from which they were selected.

The opposition was rather increased than diminished when this became known. The lieutenant-governor then dissolved the council and appealed to the people. With one exception, the same members were returned. But already the signs of prosperity resulting from the discovery of diamonds along the lower Vaal river were becoming visible, and the necessity for retrenchment was less urgent than before. The appointment by Mr. Keate of a commission to inquire into the adequacy of the civil service was accepted as an act of conciliation, and gradually matters became smoother. In 1871 the commission recommended the abolition of certain offices to which salaries amounting in all to upwards of £5,000 were attached, and the rearrangement of other salaries by which a yearly saving of £3,000 more would be effected. This retrenchment, however, was not carried out, and with the issue of a supplementary charter in 1872 the contentions between the executive and the legislature were renewed.

This charter was brought out by Mr. Anthony Musgrave, who took the oaths of office as lieutenant-governor on the 19th of July 1872. In it the salaries of the principal officers

were fixed and placed beyond the control of the council, and the power of that body was in other respects clearly defined. The elected members objected to it, on the ground that by removing a large portion of the expenditure beyond their control, rights were annulled which had been conferred upon them by the charter itself. In this view, it was not a supplementary charter, but a revocation of the charter. So there was much contention during the next few years.

After 1857 Natal became the scene of extensive speculations of a hazardous nature. Money was plentiful, for in rapid succession came branches of the Standard bank of British South Africa and of the London and South African bank, the Commercial and Agricultural bank of Natal, incorporated in August 1862 with a capital of £50,000, and the Colonial bank of Natal, founded in February 1862 and incorporated in September 1864 with a capital of £50,000, besides the old Natal bank, which in 1864 was empowered to increase its then existing capital of £120,000 to half a million. Private agencies were also engaged in the investment of English capital. A system prevailed of dealing on credit and by means of notes of hand which the banks readily discounted. Many sugar planters in particular borrowed large sums of money at exorbitant rates of interest, which they afterwards found themselves unable to pay. The great excess of imports over exports at this time shows the reckless manner in which the colonists were speculating, even after making full allowance for the capital expended in building up industries and improving estates.

A crisis came in 1865. One after another, planters failed and houses of business surrendered or compromised, until merchants in Great Britain became alarmed and stopped further supplies. Numbers of mechanics who had been attracted to the colony were thrown out of employment, poverty and distress stared many in the face, and the name of Natal sank low in the estimation of the commercial world. But the great crash paved the way for the introduction of a better and safer method of conducting business. Henceforth

credit was not so easily obtained without sufficient security, and when trade rallied again after a time, it was unaccompanied by the wild speculation of former days. The colony had passed the period of thoughtless extravagance, and was entering upon a term of vigorous, honest life.

The discovery of the diamond fields was an event of great importance to Natal. It opened a new and excellent market where high prices were obtained for all kinds of produce, and enabled the merchants to extend their trade in imported articles. Many of them established branches at the fields, where they competed successfully with others who imported their goods through Algoa Bay or East London. Natal sugar, coffee, arrowroot, jams, and tobacco could of course be sold at a good profit cheaper than similar articles brought through the Cape Colony, on which duty had been paid. Trains of waggons laden with produce crossed over the Drakensberg and through the Free State to the diamond fields, and took back money, thus giving an impetus to legitimate enterprise, both planting and commercial.

The want of a railroad from the port inland was recognised by the colonists, and plans for constructing one were frequently discussed in the council as well as by the press and people, but nothing definite was at this time agreed upon. In 1863 a line of electric telegraph had been opened between Durban and Maritzburg.

At this time Natal attracted the attention of the outside world more perhaps by ecclesiastical than by commercial transactions. In this little colony and among these few thousand Europeans a case arose on the issue of which depended the future relationship between the crown, the established church of England, and the episcopal churches in all the British possessions oversea. The right reverend Dr. Colenso had been distinguished ever since his arrival by a very warm attachment to the Bantu, combined with an untiring zeal for their improvement and an eloquent advocacy of what he regarded as their rights. As a colonial bishop, an author of numerous books in various branches, of

mathematics, and a champion of the black tribes living in South-Eastern Africa, Dr. Colenso was known throughout the English speaking countries of the world.

He was to be yet more widely known by the publication of a work of biblical criticism, which he found time to write amidst such varied occupations as few men are capable of undertaking. The book was at once condemned as heretical by those Christians everywhere who termed themselves orthodox. Its author was called upon to retract the opinions he had expressed, and, upon his declining to do so, he was summoned by the metropolitan bishop of Capetown to appear before a court composed of all the South African bishops, to be tried on the charge of heresy.

Dr. Colenso then showed that a knowledge of law must be classed with his other attainments. Taking his stand upon the letters patent of the queen, he ignored the authority of the court of bishops, and when he was pronounced guilty of heresy and sentenced to be deposed, he declined to abide by the judgment. The highest tribunal in England, to which an appeal was made, maintained him in his position. The colonial churches were declared to be nothing more than voluntary associations, bound by no law to the established church of England, and in them no person could be compelled to yield obedience to another, unless a formal agreement to that effect had been made. The bishop of Natal was therefore not subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any man or body of men, and as long as his partisans chose to recognise him he could not be deprived of his office.

In Natal itself a party seceded from Dr. Colenso, and elected as their bishop Dr. W. K. Macrorie, who was consecrated on the 25th of January 1869 in the cathedral church of Capetown, by the bishops of Capetown, Grahamstown, St. Helena, and the Orange Free State, and took the title of bishop of Maritzburg. His adherents styled themselves members of the church of the province of South Africa, in contradistinction to the adherents of the bishop

of Natal, who termed themselves members of the church of England. The property acquired before the disruption remained in the hands of Bishop Colenso, by decision of the civil courts, while Bishop Macrorie was mainly supported by English societies and foreign sympathisers.

In September 1869 an ordinance was passed, under which no clergymen of any denomination, excepting those already in receipt of salaries from the treasury, were thereafter to be paid by the state, though the grants in aid then existing were to be continued until the death or removal of their recipients.

On the 30th of July 1872 there were eight vessels at anchor in the roadstead at Port Natal, when a gale set in, and the barque *Grace Peile* was driven from her anchors and wrecked on the back beach. On the 31st the barque *Trinculo* went ashore at the same place, and after nightfall the schooners *Princess Alice* and *Breidablik* followed. No lives were lost, nor was much merchandise destroyed, as the wrecks, imbedded in sand, did not break up. The other four vessels rode out the gale.

The population of Natal in 1872 consisted of about 17,500 Europeans, 300,000 Bantu, and 5,800 Indians. No census had been taken, so that these figures cannot be given as absolutely correct.

Maritzburg, the capital, contained 3,250 Europeans, 1,500 Bantu, and 100 Indians. It had three banks and three cathedrals—Roman catholic, church of England, and church of the province of South Africa,—ten other churches, and several public buildings. An excellent supply of water ran in open furrows along its streets, which were shaded with trees that gave it a charming appearance.

Durban, the seaport, contained 3,500 Europeans, 1,900 Bantu, and 900 Indians. It possessed no fewer than fifteen churches of various denominations, four banks, several insurance offices and agencies, and, like Maritzburg, was the centre of numerous institutions, literary, commercial, and philanthropic.

The public revenue fluctuated considerably between 1857 and 1872, but was now steadily rising. In 1872 it amounted to £157,601, of which the Bantu contributed—including a small share of the customs—something over one fourth. The items from which it was derived were:—

Customs duties	£81,915
Hut-tax of 7s. on each hut	27,656
Fees on marriages of Bantu, £5 each, &c.	10,468
Excise duties	7,807
Quitrents	6,497
Postal receipts	6,296
Transfer dues	5,385
Fines and fees of office	4,613
Port dues	2,012
Stamps	2,114
Auction dues	1,409
Miscellaneous	1,429
Total	£157,601

The public debt of the colony in 1872 was £263,000, of which £163,000 had been borrowed for the construction of harbour works.

The imperial government maintained a wing of a regiment in Natal, and the colonists furnished a most efficient body of volunteers. In 1872 there were five corps of volunteer cavalry, numbering together 417 men, and three corps of volunteer infantry, numbering 195 men.

The imports from the 1st of January 1857 to the 31st of December 1861 amounted in value to £1,334,974, from the 1st of January 1862 to the 31st of December 1866 to £2,232,999, from the 1st of January 1867 to the 31st of December 1871 to £1,869,314, and during the year 1872 to £825,252. Eighty-four per cent of the imports came from the United Kingdom, thirteen per cent from other British possessions, and only three per cent from foreign countries.

During the five years from the 1st of January 1857 to the 31st of December 1861 there were exported, according to the value declared at the customs:—

Ivory	£111,431
Sheep's wool	105,913
Butter	79,325
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	75,805
Sugar and molasses	64,866
Beans, peas, maize, and millet	3,687
Arrowroot	3,371
Ostrich feathers	1,930
All other articles, and imports exported	99,719
Total during five years	£546,047

During the five years from the 1st of January 1862 to the 31st of December 1866:—

Sheep's wool	£286,858
Sugar and molasses	284,663
Ivory	119,876
Butter	39,744
Ostrich feathers	38,957
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	35,640
Beans, maize, and other farm produce	24,156
Arrowroot	12,873
Cotton	11,329
Live animals, chiefly horses	4,488
Bacon, hams, salted meat, tallow, and lard	2,381
Pepper	1,557
Specimens of natural history	848
Curiosities and karosses	831
Rum	706
Fruit	396
Coffee	6
Total South African produce	£865,309
Imports exported	52,407
	£917,716

Or African produce at the rate of £173,062 a year.

During the five years from the 1st of January 1867 to the 31st of December 1871:—

Sugar and molasses	£599,898
Sheep's wool	571,757
Carried forward	£1,171,655

Brought forward	£1,171,655
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	256,682
Ivory	51,674
Diamonds	40,773
Ostrich feathers	38,061
Butter	35,418
Bacon, hams, salted meat, tallow, and lard	31,250
Beans, maize, and other farm produce	29,316
Arrowroot	27,878
Cotton	22,290
Coffee	21,144
Live animals, chiefly horses	10,333
Rum	6,246
Pepper	2,168
Curiosities and karosses	1,555
Fruit	1,347
Aloes	1,277
Specimens of natural history	1,214
Raw gold	370
Angora hair	168
Total South African produce	£1,750,819
Imports exported	55,151
	£1,805,970

Or African produce at the rate of £350,164 a year.

During the year 1872 :—

Sheep's wool	£254,495
Sugar and molasses	153,978
Hides, skins, horns, and bones	137,629
Diamonds	10,884
Ostrich feathers	9,745
Ivory	9,392
Coffee	8,516
Cotton	6,050
Arrowroot	5,647
Butter	5,178
Bacon, salted meat, tallow, and lard	1,420
Live animals, chiefly horses	1,387
Rum	1,227
Carried forward	£605,548

Brought forward	£605,548
Beans, maize, and other farm produce	981
Raw gold	925
Aloes	532
Angora hair	422
Pepper	313
Specimens of natural history	283
Fruit	259
Curiosities and karosses	161
Total South African produce	£609,424
Imports exported	13,373
	£622,797

Sixty-nine per cent of the exports were sent to the United Kingdom, twenty-nine per cent to other British possessions, chiefly the Cape Colony and Mauritius, and only two per cent to foreign countries.

Towards the close of the year 1872 the old Zulu chief Panda died, and was succeeded by his son Ketshwayo. Panda had always preserved peace with Natal as well as with the South African Republic, but many persons were doubtful whether Ketshwayo, who was a far more aspiring man, would act in the same manner. After the great slaughter which followed his victory over his brother Umbulazi on the 2nd of December 1856, several thousands of his opponents managed to make their way across the Tugela, and were given shelter by the authorities there. Among them was one of his own half-brothers, named Umkunku, a man of very little note, however, who had even been permitted to purchase land in the colony and settle on it with his followers. It was now feared by many persons that Ketshwayo might try to make a quarrel for the purpose of taking revenge for the protection given to his opponents, but he conducted himself in such a manner as soon to allay all fear of war, and the colonists were then able to pursue their ordinary avocations in quietness.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE condition of Portugal from the time of the departure of the regent Dom João to Brazil until 1855, when Pedro V ascended the throne as a constitutional monarch, was such that very little attention could be given to her African possessions. War succeeded war, revolution followed revolution, councils of regency appeared and disappeared, democrats and aristocrats rose in turn and fell, all was chaos and confusion. This is the least interesting period of the history of the mother country, and it would be the least interesting period in the history of South-Eastern Africa also if the wars among the Bantu had not been more destructive than ever before. A rapid glance at the principal events that took place is therefore all that is necessary.

While the war with France continued French cruisers and privateers preyed upon the coasting trade until it was nearly annihilated. The stations were garrisoned with blacks, who were so poorly and so irregularly paid that they were often in revolt against their officers. Even Fort São Sebastião at Mozambique seldom contained more than fifty or sixty European and mixed breed soldiers, who were aided by three or four hundred negroes. The walls of this fort were badly in need of repair, and the guns mounted upon them were old and almost useless. The governor was now, as a measure of policy, made independent of the viceroy at Goa, that he might have more freedom of action and greater responsibility. Along the Zambesi strife and disorder were constant, and in 1807 the principal officer there lost his life at the hands of the Bantu.

During the first half of the century the slave trade was almost the only source of revenue. Vessels badly fitted out and crowded with negroes to their utmost capacity sailed from Kilimane and the other ports for Brazil, often arriving at their destination with less than a third of the number taken on board. Some of these vessels put into Table Bay in distress, with hardly any provisions or water left, for their owners calculated from the outset upon obtaining supplies there and thus being able to transport more slaves. For a time this plan succeeded, as humanity forbade the vessels being sent away without food; but when it was ascertained that this was depended upon as a means of furthering the traffic, all assistance was refused. The passage had then to be made without a break, so the vessels left with fewer slaves and more provisions. The horrors of these voyages, especially when any accident happened or when sickness broke out, can hardly be overdrawn.

Events at Delagoa Bay at this period began to assume greater importance than in earlier years. On the 5th of April 1805 José Antonio Caldas, who was then captain of the fort at Lourenço Marques, obtained from a Bantu chief a deed of cession to Portugal of a considerable tract of land north of the Espirito Santo, which that chief had wrested from its previous owner. But the weakness of the garrison and the circumstances of the time were such that no real cession was intended, and the relation of the two parties to each other remained as it had been before.

The English and Americans evidently made whale fishing pay, so in 1817 the Portuguese formed a company to carry on the same pursuit, and commenced operations at Delagoa Bay. But the effort was not attended with much success, for there were too many officials in proportion to the number of seamen, and they did not display the same activity as their competitors. Their jealousy of the English and Americans, though only natural under the circumstances, led them whenever an opportunity occurred to illtreat subjects of the Bantu chiefs who had dealings with their rivals, until

such animosity was aroused that on the 29th of June 1818 the superintendent of the fishery, João Pereira de Sousa Caldas, lost his life in a quarrel.

Towards the close of 1822 an English exploring and surveying expedition, under Captain William FitzWilliam Owen, of the royal navy, entered Delagoa Bay. It was provided with credentials from the government at Lisbon to the Portuguese officials on the coast, in which they were required to render all the assistance in their power, as the object was purely scientific. But when Captain Owen requested protection for his boats' people while they were surveying the rivers, he was informed by the commandant of the fort that the Bantu were not subject to the Portuguese government, and that he must depend upon his own resources. That was the true condition of matters at the time. Accordingly the English officers acted thereafter as if Portuguese sovereignty did not extend beyond the range of the guns of the fort, and when Mayeta, the chief of the tribe along the Tembe river, was understood as offering to cede his country to Great Britain, Captain Owen accepted the cession. A document to that effect was drawn up and formally signed and witnessed on the 8th of March 1823.

A close examination of this paper and of the reports concerning it show, however, that the object of the chief was something very different from what appears on the surface. Tshaka had then commenced his murderous career in the country to the south, and various hordes fleeing from his armies had made their appearance on the shores of Delagoa Bay, where they were causing great havoc among the earlier inhabitants. It was protection from them that Mayeta desired, not subjection of himself and his followers to foreign authority. Captain Owen described the invaders, whom he termed Vatwahs, as a martial people of free air and noble carriage, marked by piercing very large holes in the lobes of their ears. They were clothed with the skins of animals, lived chiefly on animal food, used oval shields of oxhide large enough to cover their bodies, and carried

from three to six assagais and a stabbing spear. One night a band of them attacked an English surveying party that was encamped in tents, so he had more than a casual acquaintance with them.

The Batonga inhabitants of the country around the bay he described as a timid race, armed with assagais and spears, and sometimes carrying a small shield. Many of them wore hardly any clothing at all, but some were dressed in calico obtained from the Portuguese and others in woollen garments bartered from whalers. They possessed horned cattle, goats, and barnyard poultry, and had in their gardens rice, maize, millet, sweet potatoes, onions, cabbages, pumpkins, pineapples, bananas, and other foreign and indigenous fruits. Most of these vegetables and fruits had been introduced by Europeans, and were cultivated by the Bantu not only for their own use, but for disposal to the crews of whalers. Throughout the country beads were used as coin: four hens could be had for a penny's worth, and the labour of a man for a day cost the same. With beads and calico these people bartered from others ivory and ambergris, which they disposed of to Europeans at a large profit. Captain Owen estimated the population of the shores of the bay south of the Manisa river at one hundred thousand souls.

Into the territory of these timid agricultural and commercial people, the ferocious Vatwahs, kinsmen of the Zulus, had come like lions into a herd of antelopes, and no wonder they sought protectors. The Portuguese in the fort did not, and could not, help them, they even purchased from the invaders the spoil gathered in murderous raids. One large body of the Vatwahs was then encamped at a distance of only fifty or sixty kilometres, so the need was urgent. This was the cause of the chief of Tembe affixing his mark to the document that purported to be a deed of cession of his country to the king of England. One of his men who had served in a whaler and who could speak a little broken English advised him to make the application, and he followed the counsel. But that he did not realise what he was doing

is certain, and this deed of cession was of no greater value, honestly considered, than the one covering the same ground made to the Portuguese in November 1794. The document was purely European in word and spirit, and contained clauses that no Bantu chief in South Africa was capable of understanding.

On the same day that it was signed, 8th of March 1823, the British flag was hoisted on the bank of the Tembe river, and was saluted with twenty-one guns. As soon as possible thereafter notice was given to the captain of the Portuguese fort that the tribe had become British subjects, but no authority of any kind was ever exercised over them, nor was the least protection against their enemies given to them. They were left as before to themselves, and in the terrible wave of war that soon afterwards rolled over their land they were almost exterminated by Swangendaba and Manikusa without the British government even knowing what was taking place.

On the 23rd of August 1823, Makasane, chief of the tribe occupying the territory between the Maputa river and the sea, that is the same tract of land that had once belonged to the friendly ruler Garcia de Sá, affixed his mark to a document by which he placed himself and his country under the protection of Great Britain. Captain Owen's object in obtaining this declaration was to secure for England the two islands Inyaka and Elephant, which were regarded as more healthy stations than any on the mainland, and behind which there was good anchorage for ships. He wrote that he considered Delagoa Bay a place of considerable political and commercial importance. It was the only good harbour on the coast south of Mozambique, over which it had many advantages, as it was easy of access at all seasons of the year, was free of such currents as would obstruct navigation, and had a better country behind it. It was the door for commerce to the vast interior, was the base of a valuable whale fishery, and commanded intercourse with the entire seaboard of Madagascar at all seasons of the year. From it

British sovereignty might be extended southward to embrace Natal and the whole of the coast. In the possession of a foreign power it could be made ruinous to the Cape Colony and to the commerce of India, either in peace or war. In peace it could be made a depôt for eastern productions, and in war one of the best ports in the world whence hostile expeditions might issue at pleasure. These were the reasons assigned by Captain Owen for taking the preliminary steps to make the south-eastern shore of the bay an English dependency. But no force was left for Makasane's protection, and beyond the existence of the formal document there was nothing to show that Great Britain had obtained a foothold there.

Some of the names of the rivers were changed by this expedition into English ones. Thus the Manisa became the King George's, but the old designation of that stream near its mouth survives until to-day, and the new one is now seldom used, while the upper course is always known as the Komati. The Da Lagoa or Lourenço Marques became the Dundas, but recently the Bantu name Umbelosi has driven all the others out. The estuary called the Espirito Santo was changed into the English river, and is still frequently so termed.

In October 1823 Captain Owen sent from Mozambique a report to the admiralty office upon the condition of Eastern Africa at the time. He stated that there were then in that harbour seven vessels taking in slaves for Rio Janeiro, one of them, of six hundred tons burden, being intended to carry twelve hundred. Not fewer than twenty-five thousand slaves were exported from Mozambique annually. From Kilimane sixteen vessels had taken during the preceding year ten thousand slaves. Between Inhambane and Brazil there was also direct communication, but from that port the number sent away was not so large. At Delagoa Bay the traffic was still less. The cost of a slave to the Portuguese at Kilimane, Inhambane, and Delagoa Bay was rarely more than two or three dollars, and they were sold to the owners of the

ships at from twenty to thirty dollars each. These owners considered that they made a good voyage if a third of the number embarked reached Rio Janeiro, where they brought from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars each. Sometimes half were saved, when the gain became a strong motive for more extensive speculation.

Sofala, he reported, was the most miserable of all the Portuguese establishments on the coast except Lourenço Marques: it could not even furnish a boat to assist one of his ships when aground. Strangers everywhere visiting the stations for purposes of trade were subject to wanton indignity and exaction. At Mozambique an English vessel, even in distress, was obliged to pay five per cent of the value of any goods it might be necessary to land, and twenty-five per cent on everything that was sold. Inhambane was the most thriving of all the settlements, owing to the exceptional ability of its captain, who encouraged industry in the free blacks by his example, counsel, and manner of administration.

Except along the lower Zambesi the Portuguese had then no dominion or authority beyond the limits of their forts and factories. At Sofala, however, they professed to have recently conquered with fifty men the whole of the old Kiteve country as far as Manika, though when he was there he found them almost shut up in their establishment by tribes at war with them, and along the Zambesi it was feared that some hostile chiefs might destroy the villages of Sena and Tete.

Mozambique was in such a critical state that the governor found it necessary to reside within the fort. He had not more than twelve or fourteen European soldiers, and only eight officers on whom he could rely, mostly very young men. In the market nothing except slaves was exposed for sale, and it was with much difficulty that any other provisions than rice and shellfish could be procured. Most of the traders were Arabs so-called and Banyans. In short, the whole country from Delagoa Bay northward presented a

lamentable picture of decay and ruin, owing to the indolence and incapacity of those who claimed to be its possessors.

Captain Owen recommended that the treaty which permitted the Portuguese to carry on the slave trade in their dominions between Cape Delgado and Delagoa Bay should not be construed to include independent Bantu territory within those limits.* Nowhere south or north of the Zambesi had they any dominion whatever beyond the muzzles of their guns. In most parts, indeed, they were even excluded by the Bantu. Great Britain could make treaties with the

* The following are the clauses of the treaties limiting the extent of territory in which the Portuguese could carry on the slave trade :—

Article X.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal being fully convinced of the Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade, and of the great disadvantages which arise from the necessity of introducing and continually renewing a Foreign and Factitious Population for the purpose of Labour and Industry within His South American Dominions, has resolved to co-operate with His Britannic Majesty in the cause of Humanity and Justice by adopting the most efficacious means for bringing about a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade throughout the whole of His Dominions. And actuated by this Principle His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal engages that His Subjects shall not be permitted to carry on the Slave Trade on any part of the Coast of Africa not actually belonging to His Royal Highness's Dominions, in which that Trade has been discontinued and abandoned by the Powers and States of Europe, which formerly traded there, reserving however to His Own Subjects the Right of purchasing and trading in Slaves within the African Dominions of the Crown of Portugal.—Treaty of 19th February 1810.

Article II.

The Territories in which the Traffic in Slaves continues to be permitted, under the Treaty of the Twenty second of January one Thousand Eight Hundred and fifteen, to the Subjects of His most Faithful Majesty, are the following: 1st. The Territories possessed by the Crown of Portugal upon the Coast of Africa to the South of the Equator, that is to say, upon the Eastern Coast of Africa, the Territory laying between Cape Delgado and the Bay of Lourenço Marques, and upon the Western Coast, all that which is situated from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Degree of South Latitude.—Treaty of 28th July 1817.

independent chiefs which would destroy the slave trade, or she could establish factories for commerce where she could undersell the Portuguese and starve them out. Or, as Delagoa Bay must be considered as of great importance to the Cape Colony, an arrangement might be made with the Portuguese government that it should withdraw its claims to all territory south of Inhambane and abolish the slave trade farther north, conditionally upon Great Britain abstaining from entering into any relations with the chiefs beyond Cape Correntes.

Probably a neutral party would have drawn a less gloomy picture of the condition of South-Eastern Africa at this time, and would have disputed Great Britain's right to do what Captain Owen recommended, but there can be no question as to the weakness of the Portuguese government or the extent of the slave trade.

On the 3rd of November 1823 Commodore Joseph Nourse, who was then in command of the British naval force on the Cape station, arrived in Delagoa Bay in the *Andromache*. An English trading vessel named the *Orange Grove* was lying at anchor there at the time. Commodore Nourse obtained from the captain of the fort a promise to abstain from interference with Bantu trading with the English, but after the departure of the two ships he took a different course. The reverend Mr. Threlfall, a Wesleyan missionary who had gone to the bay with Captain Owen, and who remained there until 1824, when he returned in ill health to Capetown in the whaler *Nereid*, reported that immediately after the departure of the *Andromache* and the *Orange Grove* the Portuguese captain showed a disposition to subjugate the Bantu states, and threatened the chiefs with immediate war if they would not accede to his terms. In December he caused the Portuguese flag to be hoisted in Tembe, and appointed three soldiers to guard it. About the same time an official of the chief of Maputa ceded the south-eastern territory to the Portuguese, but the chief refused to confirm the cession, upon which the captain sent

a company of soldiers and a large number of enlisted blacks of another tribe against him. Makasane obtained assistance from the chief of Tembe, but was defeated with a loss of many killed, and his followers then dispersed.

A good deal of skirmishing among the various tribes followed, until the Portuguese and their allies were destroyed by an act of treachery rather than of war. One of the chiefs sent a present to the captain with a message that it was intended as giving his consent to the arrangement proposed, and invited him to come to the territory and hoist the Portuguese flag. The captain, Lupe de Cardenas by name, fell into the snare laid for him. With all the officers of the garrison except Lieutenant Teixeira who was sick, forty-five soldiers, and most of his Bantu allies, he was proceeding to the place arranged for hoisting the flag with due ceremony, when he fell into an ambuscade and the whole party, excepting three soldiers and a few of the allies, perished under the assagai. Those who escaped fled to the fort, which was at once besieged, but the attacking party was induced to withdraw by presents of beads. Internecine strife among the various tribes followed, and this alone saved the Portuguese establishment from entire annihilation.

This account, however, is not quite in accordance with the official documents on the other side. According to them the chiefs who had affixed their marks to the English documents signed a counter declaration, to the effect that they were subjects of the king of Portugal, as their fathers from time immemorial had been. The captain Lupe de Cardenas with a junior officer and thirty-nine black soldiers then proceeded to hoist the Portuguese flag on the banks of the Tembe river, whereupon Mayeta, the chief who was asserted to be a subject of Portugal as his ancestors had always been, attacked the party, killed Cardenas and twenty-six of his men, and obliged the ensign and the remaining thirteen blacks to surrender and submit to his mercy.

In this precarious manner the fort or trading station continued to be held until 1833, without authority of any

kind over the neighbouring Bantu clans being exercised. It was just the other way, for the tenure under which the Portuguese occupied the ground on which they lived was one of sufferance on condition of friendly behaviour towards the strongest of their neighbours. They were there at the mercy of the barbarians.

With the object of trying to keep strangers away, on the 13th of November 1824 a royal charter was issued in which an exclusive monopoly of the commerce of the bay was granted to the Fishing Company, as it was supposed its agents would show a good deal of energy in the matter. This charter remained in force until January 1835, when the company was dissolved.

For some years the country round Delagoa Bay had been devastated by war of an exceptionally ferocious character.

First a little band of warriors under a leader named Ngokweni broke away from Tshaka, and passed through it on their way to the Zambesi, where they settled on a large island in the river near Sena. They did some damage on their march, but they were too few in number to cause devastation on an extensive scale.

They were followed by a much larger horde, under the chief Swangendaba, who fled from the border of the district now called Swaziland. This ferocious horde in its flight to the north created great havoc among the feeble tribes, who were incapable of resisting it. It moved about the country between Delagoa Bay and the Zambesi nearly two years, breaking up and almost exterminating many of the Batonga, Baroswi, and Makalanga clans, and setting at defiance the Portuguese in their stations along the coast. At length the Angoni, as this devastating host was afterwards called, were routed in a great battle on the bank of the Sabi river by a still stronger body of refugees from the south, under the chief Manikusa. Swangendaba then retreated northward, crossed the Zambesi, and settled on the western shore of Lake Nyassa, where the Angoni became a scourge to all their neighbours. Upon the death of Swangendaba he was

succeeded by his son Mpezini, who was chief of the tribe when in 1875 missionaries of the Free church of Scotland founded the station Livingstonia. The Angoni were then masters of a wide extent of country, and were still pursuing the career of marauders.

Far more destructive than the Angoni to the inhabitants of the coast north of Delagoa Bay was the fierce tribe now known as the Matshangana, because their occupation of the territory was permanent. This tribe was composed of a number of refugees from various clans, who fled from the shore of St. Lucia Bay to avoid contact with the Zulu stabbing assagai. These refugees were welded into one body by the chief Manikusa, afterwards generally called Sotshangana, from whom the tribe took its name. Among the less highly disciplined people living north of St. Lucia Bay the Matshangana spread dreadful havoc. Many of the clans were exterminated, and others were reduced to the most abject condition, all their property being seized, and their serviceable children of both sexes being taken away to swell the ranks of their conquerors.

On the 22nd of October 1833 a strong body of warriors of the Matshangana tribe appeared before the fort on the Espirito Santo. They were provided with no other weapons than short-handled stabbing assagais, so they could not effect an entrance; but during the night of the 27th the captain Dionysio Antonio Ribeiro, seeing an opportunity to escape, evacuated the place, and with his men retired to the island Shefina, which lies close to the coast. On the following day the Matshangana destroyed the fort, and then pursued the Portuguese to the island and captured them all. The prisoners were brought back to their ruined habitation, and were there put to death.

Manikusa then for the second time devastated the territory from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi, and destroyed the clans within it, the descendants of the tribes that three centuries earlier had been governed by the Sedanda, the Kiteve, and the Tshikanga, as well as the various divisions of the

Batonga south of the Sabi and of the Mashona, who were comparatively recent immigrants.

The captain of Inhambane was so rash as to attempt to assist a friendly clan against Manikusa. Inhambane had then about twenty-five Portuguese residents, all told, and the garrison of the little fort São João da Boa Vista consisted of about a hundred negroes. The village contained a church dedicated to our Lady of the Conception, and a few houses built in the European style, though none of great size, as the station was inferior in importance to those on the Zambesi. The result of the interference with Manikusa by the captain of Imhambane was the plunder of the village and the slaughter of the captain himself and all the inhabitants except ten individuals who managed to escape, 3rd of November 1834.

Sofala had sunk to be a place of very little note. Its fort had fallen into decay, and its best houses were built of mud. Still it had a captain and a garrison of negroes. In 1836 it was attacked by the Matshangana, when the fort managed to hold out, but all else was plundered and destroyed. The military commandant, José Marques da Costa, then collected the friendly Bantu in the neighbourhood, and with them and his negroes ventured to give the enemy battle, with the result that every individual of his force perished.

Sena contained ten houses built in the European style, one church, and a small fort. A number of Bantu huts stood close by. There were not more than twenty white inhabitants, including three military officers and a priest, and in 1830 these had been obliged to abandon the place temporarily on account of a famine. There were fifty or sixty mixed breeds and sixty blacks called soldiers, but they were very little in advance of the barbarians around them. The Matshangana attacked the place, and after killing fifty-four of the Portuguese and mixed breeds, drove the remaining inhabitants of the village to the islands in the Zambesi. An arrangement was then made that the traders should pay to the chief of the conquering horde a certain

quantity of merchandise yearly, and on this condition they were allowed to return.

The government at Lisbon was unable to supply a competent force to protect the stations while the Matshangana were in the first flush of their victorious career, and could devise no other expedient than to make the government of the Rivers independent of that of Mozambique. In 1834 José Gregorio Pegado was appointed military governor of Mozambique, and Isidro Manuel de Carrezedo was sent to the Rivers to do the best he could without any interference. He could do nothing, as has been seen, for military force was what was needed, and with his failure the former system of government was reverted to.

The havoc created among the Bantu between the Zambesi and the Limpopo by the Matshangana on the south, the Makololo on the north-west, and the Matabele on the west, was very great. Many of the ancient clans were quite exterminated, and of those that remain in existence few occupy the same ground that their ancestors did. In the years 1852 and 1853 especially they were scattered and destroyed with no more compunction than if they had been vermin. The Portuguese stations were reoccupied within a few years, but they were held with difficulty. In 1849 the captain of Inhambane was killed, as was his successor in 1850. In these years Lourenço Marques and Sofala were attacked, and narrowly escaped destruction the second time. Lourenço Marques, indeed, was held under the most precarious of tenures until quite recently. In 1868 it was attacked by a tribe in the neighbourhood that was assisted by a European renegade, and was only saved by the bravery of the captain José Augusto de Sá e Simas. As late as 1878 there were only four hundred and fifty-eight Europeans, Asiatics, and mulattos combined living there. Of these, two hundred and ninety-five were men, thirty-two were women, and one hundred and thirty-one were children. Ninety-three Portuguese, twenty-eight Europeans of other nationalities, sixty-six mulattos, and eighty-three Asiatics professed

Christianity, and one hundred and thirty-three Indians and fifty-five others did not.

The prazos south of the Zambesi were of course nearly all overrun, and on the 22nd of December 1854 a decree was issued by the government in Lisbon abolishing the system. The decree was not enforced, however, by the local authorities, except that the method of inheritance was no longer observed, and a few prazos held by individuals who arrogated to themselves the rights of feudal lords and who regarded their people as mere serfs, continued in existence.

There is a little island called Tshiloane off the coast about sixty-four kilometres south of Sofala. It is nearly divided into two by a sluggish creek, and is not at all an attractive place, but it has a fairly good harbour, and it is secure against ravages by Bantu from the mainland. Some of the half breeds and others who lived among the blacks in the neighbourhood of the ancient gold port removed to this island, and since 1862 a military force has been stationed there to protect them. A lighthouse has also been built on Tshingani Point on the island, though the commerce of the place is very small.

In 1855 some of the refugees from the mainland went to reside on the island of Santa Carolina, one of the Bazaruta group, and a small garrison was stationed there as an evidence that the Portuguese were the owners.

On the 10th of December 1836 a decree was issued by the government at Lisbon abolishing traffic in slaves throughout the Portuguese dominions. But so far from its coming into force in Eastern Africa, the marquis of Aracaty, who was then governor of Mozambique, issued a proclamation on the 11th of November 1837 suspending its operation, on the plea of absolute necessity. This led to correspondence with the British government, which had then emancipated the slaves everywhere within its own dominions and was exerting itself to the utmost to induce foreign nations to follow its example. But the traffic continued, and when after a time in accordance with treaty arrangements

British cruisers were stationed on the coast to endeavour to suppress it, they could generally be evaded by the slave vessels getting away from one port while they were watching another. It has only been in our own times that this traffic has ceased.

The law regarding commerce by strangers was now greatly modified.* In 1811 it was made legal to import goods of foreign manufacture, provided they were carried in Portuguese vessels manned to the extent of three-fourths of the crew by Portuguese subjects. But restrictive laws, except where a government is very strong, invariably foster illicit traffic, and it was so in this instance. Foreigners could not be kept away. Seeing this, in 1853 the government at Lisbon wisely adopted a system under which a revenue from strangers would be obtained, while smuggling was made too unprofitable, compared with the risk, to be carried on. Under this system Portuguese goods imported into Eastern Africa in Portuguese ships were charged four per cent of their value as customs duty, foreign goods imported in Portuguese ships were charged eight per cent, and foreign goods imported in foreign ships twelve per cent. Articles exported in Portuguese ships to Portuguese ports were charged one per cent of their value, in Portuguese ships to foreign ports three per cent,

* According to treaty British subjects nominally had rights of trade in Eastern Africa, except in certain reserved articles; but as these included gold, ivory, and, of course, slaves, they were practically prohibited from purchasing anything else than provisions. The following is the text of the article referring to East Africa in the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Portugal:

Article XXIV.

All Trade with the Portuguese Possessions situated on the Eastern Coast of the Continent of Africa (in Articles not included in the Exclusive Contracts possessed by the Crown of Portugal) which may have been formerly allowed to the Subjects of the Great Britain, is confirmed, and secured to them now and for ever, in the same Manner as the Trade which has hitherto been permitted to Portuguese Subjects in the Ports and Seas of Asia is confirmed and secured to them by Virtue of the Sixth Article of the Present Treaty.—Treaty of 19th February 1810.

and in foreign ships to foreign ports five per cent. This cannot be regarded as an unreasonable tariff for that time, and though it has been modified of recent years, Portuguese goods still have the advantage of differential duties in their favour.

In 1856 the farce was enacted of creating a council for the province of Mozambique, consisting of thirteen members, in which Tete was allotted two representatives, and Sena, Sofala, Inhambane, and Lourenço Marques each one. At the same time the term of office of the heads of the stations was extended from three to five years, in order to obtain the advantage of experience. Ten years later, on the 1st of December 1866, a more practical decree was issued, which established improved courts of justice, both inferior and superior, in Eastern Africa.

Beyond Tete the whole country to the westward had long been lost to the Portuguese, and with it of course the station that had once been regarded as the most important for the commerce of the interior and the conversion of the Bantu. This was Zumbo, on the northern bank of the Zambesi, nearly two hundred and fifty English miles or four hundred kilometres by the stream upward from Tete. Projects for the reoccupation of this post had frequently been discussed, but nothing could be done before 1862, when Albino Manuel Pacheco hoisted the Portuguese flag there once more. The ruins of the ancient church and of the house once inhabited by the captain marked the site of the station. But Zumbo, though reoccupied, has never attained its former importance, and only five or six Europeans have since resided there at a time. Its principal value to the Portuguese has been that it gave them a right, acknowledged by Great Britain, to the territory along the river bank that distance westward, and secured for them a boundary line including it when the interior of the continent was divided between different claimants a few years ago.

The most interesting event during this period is the progress of geographical knowledge concerning South Africa,

and for this the world is mainly indebted to an intrepid Scotch missionary. The honour of accomplishing the journey across Africa for the first time, however, is due to two black traders named Pedro João Baptista and Amaro José, who were in the employment of Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa, director of the fair of Mucary in the district of Pungo Andongo. These men were entrusted with a letter to the captain of Tete, and left Muropue in Angola on the 22nd of May 1806. One of them, Pedro João Baptista, was sufficiently well educated to be able to keep a sort of journal, but they had no instruments of any kind with them, nor were they competent to make observations. On the 2nd of February 1811, four years and eight months after setting out, they delivered the letter at Tete, and in May of the same year left on their return journey. They reached Loanda again safely, and thus accomplished the feat of crossing the continent in both directions. Some knowledge of the interior far north of the Zambesi was gathered from these intrepid travellers, but no information whatever concerning the country or the people to the south.

On the 1st of June 1831 a large expedition left Tete to follow up Dr. Lacerda's exploration to the west coast. Major José Maria Correia Monteiro was in command, Captain Antonio Candido Pedroso Gamitto was next in authority and also journalist, and there were no fewer than four hundred and twenty blacks in different capacities. But the difficulties encountered were so great that from the kraal of Kazembe the expedition turned back, after despatching a letter to the governor of Angola by some trustworthy black traders of the party. The letter was dated 10th of March 1832, and was delivered on the 25th of April 1839. Thus it was not by Europeans, but by blacks, that this transit of the continent was effected.

On the next occasion it was performed by three Arab traders from Zanzibar, who, finding themselves far in the interior in want of merchandise, pushed on to the nearest

coast, and reached Benguela on the 3rd of May 1852. The governor of Angola offered a million reis and the honorary title of captain to any one who would return to Zanzibar with the traders, and describe the route between the two coasts. A resident of Angola named Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto accepted the offer, but after travelling a hundred and seven days he could go no farther, and therefore turned back. He sent some of his people on, however, who reached Mozambique safely on the 12th of November 1854.

It was reserved for the reverend Dr. David Livingstone to be the first white man to cross Africa from coast to coast, and to be also the first to give reliable information upon the interior of the country south of the upper course of the Zambesi. This famous explorer proceeded northward from the Cape of Good Hope along the healthy highlands of the interior to Linyanti, the residence of the paramount ruler of the Makololo tribe, about midway between the two oceans. With this place as a base of supply, more than half the difficulty of crossing the continent was done away with. To that point a waggon road was open from the south, and everything needed for the journey was collected there with little difficulty. On the 11th of November 1853 he left the Makololo kraal, and on the 31st of May 1854 arrived safely at Loanda in Angola. After resting there nearly four months, on the 20th of September Dr. Livingstone set out to return, but the journey back could not be accomplished in less than a year. Leaving Linyanti again on the 3rd of November 1855, he followed the Zambesi down to the sea, discovering on the way the magnificent Victoria fall. After touching at Tete, where he left most of his attendants to await his return from England, he arrived at Kilimane on the 20th of May 1856.

Since that time the continent has frequently been crossed, and soon the various details of its features were known, and full information was obtained concerning the tribes that occupy it.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (*continued*).

AFTER 1838, when the emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony began to settle on the highlands of the interior between the Vaal and Limpopo rivers, the southern part of the territory claimed by the Portuguese along the eastern coast acquired a value it never had before. The excellent harbour at the mouth of the Espirito Santo in Delagoa Bay was the nearest port to the newly occupied territory, and efforts were repeatedly made to open a road to it. These did not succeed for many years, owing to the prevalence of fever near the coast and to the intermediate belt of land being infested with the tsetse fly, but the position of the bay made it certain that in time all the difficulties of establishing communication through it between the South African Republic and the outer world would be overcome.

In 1852 the independence of the farmers north of the Vaal was acknowledged by Great Britain, and the importance of the bay was realised in England, where the documents obtained by Captain Owen in 1823 were not forgotten, though no action beyond a little correspondence between the authorities at London and Lisbon had ever been taken upon them. Matters were left in abeyance, however, until the 5th of November 1861, when Captain Bickford, commanding her Majesty's ship *Narcissus*, planted the British flag on the islands Inyaka and Elephant, which he proclaimed British territory, and together with the adjoining roadstead he declared to be annexed to the colony of Natal. This action was protested against by the Portuguese, and a long correspondence between the two governments ensued.

Captain Bickford had hardly set sail when a man, who was destined to occupy a prominent position thereafter in South-Eastern Africa made his appearance at the Portuguese fort on the Espirito Santo. His name was Umzila. He was a son of the recently deceased chief Manikusa, and having incurred the jealousy of his father he had been obliged to flee and for some time had been living as a refugee in the South African Republic. Upon the death of Manikusa, his great son Maweva succeeded as chief of the Matshangana, but a strong party favoured Umzila, who was older than his brother and much the abler man of the two.

On the 1st of December 1861 Umzila applied to Onofre Lourenço d'Andrada, captain of the fort on the Espirito Santo, for assistance against his brother. Manikusa, his father, had been a terrible scourge to the Portuguese, and Maweva, his brother, bade fair to be equally hostile. He, on the contrary, offered to recognise the sovereignty of the king of Portugal, and to cede all the land up to the Manisa river, in return for military assistance. The captain Andrada was not in a position to give much help. His whole force could not have stood five minutes in the open field against the weakest of Maweva's regiments, but he recognised that a crisis had come, and that if Umzila was unsuccessful, the Portuguese possession of any part of the coast south of the Zambesi river would be at an end. What Umzila needed also was not so much men as arms and ammunition, and he could spare a few antiquated firelocks and a quantity of gunpowder.

An arrangement was therefore entered into, and on the 2nd of December 1861 the cession of the territory—though it was not yet in the giver's possession—was formally made. All the assistance that was possible was then afforded to Umzila. The war between the brothers lasted many months, but at length in two battles fought on the banks of the Manisa on the 17th and the 20th of August 1862 Maweva's adherents were utterly defeated. He was fortunate enough to make his escape, and fled to Swaziland, where he was given shelter. Thereafter for many years he made occasional

raids into the territory he had lost, but never succeeded in gathering together a body of adherents strong enough to enable him to meet his brother again in the field.

Umzila thus became undisputed chief of the Matshangana tribe, and until his death in 1884 ruled over nearly all the Bantu in that large expanse of territory marked in the maps as Gazaland, extending from the Zambesi river on the north to the Manisa on the south, and from the fringe of the great interior plain down to the shore of the Indian sea. Throughout his life he remembered the assistance that had been given to him by the Portuguese, but did not always refrain from hostile actions towards them, and certainly never regarded himself as their subject. To control a tribe as powerful as his, the means to compel obedience to authority must be ever present, no matter what flag is supposed to wave over the territory, and the Portuguese at that time had no force in South-Eastern Africa that could command respect.

They were, however, beginning to improve their position, which had already passed its lowest point of depression. A favourable turn in their affairs was taking place in the lower Zambesi valley, as will presently be related, and on the Espirito Santo a much stronger and better fort than the one previously existing was constructed in 1864, which was strengthened three years afterwards by the addition of four small batteries. A few houses were built on the adjoining ground, and thereafter the site came to be generally called Lourenço Marques.

On the 29th of July 1869 a commercial treaty was concluded between the governments of Portugal and of the South African Republic, and in it a boundary line between them was fixed commencing from the parallel of 26° 30′ south latitude.

Such a treaty could not be regarded with indifference by the British government, whose interests in South Africa were likely to be seriously affected by it. Accordingly the claim to the southern and eastern shore of Delagoa Bay, based on

the documents obtained by Captain Owen, attracted greater attention, but naturally the Portuguese government refused to acknowledge it. Arbitration was then decided upon, and on the 25th of September 1872 a protocol was signed at Lisbon, by which the contending parties agreed to submit their respective claims to the decision of the president of the French republic.

The case for Portugal was well worked out, though many mere suppositions were made to appear as incontrovertible facts, and numerous papers were put in which could easily have been proved to be of no weight whatever. Their records and ancient histories were searched, and everything that favoured their claim was brought forward, while all that opposed it was carefully held back. Among their documents was a treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, in which the territories of the latter on the East African coast were declared to extend from Cape Delgado to the bay of Lourenço Marques, which they reasonably interpreted as including that bay. Real effective occupation of any part of the country beyond the precincts of their fort they could not prove, nor could they show the exercise of substantial control over any of the Bantu clans living in the vicinity. But their discovery of the bay, their commercial dealings with the tribes on its shores, the cessions on paper made to them, and what more has been related in these volumes, they fully proved.

The English case was less carefully prepared. It could not have been brought to appear as good as that of the Portuguese, but by a careful search in the archives of the Cape Colony and in printed and manuscript volumes in the library of the British museum, it might have been considerably strengthened. An attempt was made to show that the bay of Lourenço Marques mentioned in the treaty put in by the Portuguese really meant the estuary of the Tembe, Umbelosi, and Matola, that is the Espirito Santo or English river, and not the large sheet of water of which this is only a very small part, but such an interpretation was easily proved to

be incorrect. Some of the documents relied upon by the other side were explained away, but the fact that the territory in dispute had for centuries been within the sphere of influence of the Portuguese—though at irregular intervals and to a very limited extent only—could not be disturbed. If the Portuguese claim to the southern and eastern shores of the bay was weak, the English claim was weaker still.

On the 24th of July 1875 Marshal Macmahon, president of the French republic, issued his award, which gave to Portugal the territory as far south as the parallel of latitude of 26° 30′ from the ocean to the Lebombo mountains. That included the territory of Tembe, defined as bounded on the north by the Espirito Santo or English river and the Lourenço Marques, Dundas, or Umbelosi river, on the west by the Lebombo mountains, and on the south and the east by the river Maputa and the shore of Delagoa Bay. In it was also comprised the territory of the Maputa, between the Maputa river and the sea, including the Inyaka peninsula and the islands Inyaka and Elephant.

The Portuguese had been in possession of stations on the East African coast for more than three centuries and a half, and believed themselves entitled to the whole of the interior of the continent south of the Zambesi, yet so little did they know of even its geographical features that they were unacquainted with the course of the Limpopo river beyond a day's sail in boats above its mouth. As far as can be traced, not an individual of that nation had ever been upon its banks at any part where it is not navigable. In 1870 for the first time its whole course was traced from the junction of the Shashi to the sea.

On the 6th of July of that year, Captain Elton, of the London and Limpopo Mining Company, left the Tati with the object of ascertaining if a road could not be opened from that place to Delagoa Bay. He proceeded first in an east-south-easterly direction to the junction of the Shashi and the Limpopo, which he reached on the 30th. He had taken a boat with him, which he now launched on the main

stream, at this point nearly two hundred metres in width. On the 1st of August he commenced the descent of the river, and managed to continue on it for nearly a hundred miles or a hundred and sixty-one kilometres, though he met with several accidents caused by rapids. Then he reached a magnificent fall, at the margin of the plateau, where he narrowly escaped destruction, but managed to run the boat on shore in time.

From the falls the journey was necessarily continued on foot, but by dint of great exertion on his own part and on that of the men with him on the 29th of August the junction of the Lipalule and the Limpopo was reached, up to which point the river had been explored from its mouth by Mr. St. Vincent Erskine. At the junction of the Lipalule, Captain Elton left the Limpopo, and directed his course in a straight line to Lourenço Marques, where he took passage for Natal. From a commercial point of view his journey was a failure, but it resulted in a great improvement of the map of South Africa.

Various schemes for the construction of a railway between Lourenço Marques and the capital of the South African Republic had been projected before the publication of the award which secured the seaboard to Portugal, but all had fallen through. On the 11th of December 1875, less than five months after that event, a treaty was entered into between the governments of the two countries, which provided for the free interchange of the products of the soil and industry of the republic and the Portuguese possessions, for the importation free of customs duties through the port of Lourenço Marques of a great many articles destined for the republic and for the importation of all other articles thus destined upon payment of duty at the rate of three to six per cent of their value, as also for the construction of a railway from the harbour inland. Owing to political events in South Africa this treaty could not be carried into effect for some years, but it was revived and ratified again on the 7th of October 1882.

On the 14th of December 1883 the Portuguese government granted a concession for the construction of a railway about eighty-three kilometres in length, from Lourenço Marques to Komati Poort, on the western boundary. The subsidy offered was ample, still it was only in March 1887 that a company was formed in London to carry out the work. In November 1888 the line was opened to a point which was believed to be on the Portuguese boundary, though soon afterwards it was ascertained to be some distance short, and then, as it could not be completed within the stipulated time, the government took advantage of the opportunity and on the 24th of June 1889 confiscated the railway. This led to interference by Great Britain and the United States on behalf of the shareholders, but after much negotiation the Portuguese authorities retained the line, and the amount of compensation to be awarded to the company was referred for decision to three Swiss lawyers. These gentlemen did not issue their award until March 1900, when they adjudged the Portuguese government to pay £941,511, less than half of what the claimants considered themselves entitled to.

Meantime on the republican side a railway was being constructed from the Portuguese border at Komati Poort towards the heart of the country. In July 1895 this was completed and joined to the southern line through the Orange Free State and the Cape Colony, so that there is now unbroken communication between Capetown and Lourenço Marques. A large proportion of the commerce of the territory between the Vaal and the Limpopo finds its way to Delagoa Bay, and with the development of the gold fields during recent years, the traffic is as much as the line can carry.

Lourenço Marques has thus become a place of considerable importance. A town of some size has sprung up, and is rapidly growing, though the death rate is exceedingly high. It is believed, however, that with the drainage of a great marsh adjoining it the place will become less unhealthy. The means of landing and shipping goods with facility

are being provided, and a lighthouse at the entrance to the harbour has been built. The residents of the town are of various nationalities, a large proportion being English and Germans. There is no commerce of any consequence with the surrounding territory, which is, as of old, in possession of Bantu clans, the existence of Lourenço Marques as a town being due solely and entirely to the transit of merchandise and passengers between the shipping and the railway to the interior. Yet it is to-day much the most important place in the Portuguese possessions in South-Eastern Africa.

Next to it comes Beira, a town unknown a quarter of a century ago, and which sprang into being as the ocean terminus of a road from a settlement—not Portuguese—in the interior. Beira is at the mouth of the Pungwe river, not far north of Sofala. It has an excellent harbour, capacious, with good depth of water, and easy of access. The Arabs had once a small settlement there, but the Portuguese never occupied the place in olden times, and when the Asiatics retired, it fell into such decay that for more than three centuries it was almost forgotten.

Owing to negotiations with Germany and France relative to the partitioning of the continent, in 1887 Portugal advanced a claim to the whole territory between Angola and Mozambique down to the South African Republic, but Great Britain immediately announced that her sovereignty would not be recognised in places not occupied by a sufficient force to maintain order. There were no Portuguese at all at that time on the highlands north of the Limpopo, nor had a single individual of that nation, as far as is known, even visited the clans there within the preceding century. The Matabele chief Moselekatse had conquered the greater part of the country in 1838 and subsequent years, had slaughtered most of its inhabitants, and ruled over the others with a ferocity unknown except among African tribes. The border of the Matabele raids on one side was the border of the Matshangana raids on the other, and Lobengula, son and successor of Moselekatse, was the recognised lord of the

interior plateau from the Limpopo to the Zambesi, acknowledging or pretending to acknowledge no superior. Gungunyana, son of Umzila and grandson of Manikusa, was the real lord of nearly all the territory between the edge of the interior plateau and the sea, and though the Portuguese claimed him as a subject, he was to all intents and purposes independent of control.

This condition of things was indisputable, yet the intense jealousy of many Portuguese was aroused when early in 1888 an agreement was made by a British commissioner with Lobengula, in which that chief bound himself to refrain from entering into correspondence or concluding a treaty with any other state or power, and the territory governed by him was declared to be within the British sphere of influence. That they had never occupied the country, and never could occupy it, was not taken into consideration, it was the background of a line of coast which their navigators had first discovered and along which they had military and trading stations, and that was sufficient in their opinion to justify their claim to it.

Negotiations were opened between the governments of Great Britain and Portugal, but while they were proceeding subjects of both countries were busy securing rights from Bantu rulers. Two Portuguese — Colonel Joaquim Carlos Paiva d'Andrada and Lieutenant Cordon — with some black troops visited various petty chiefs, and induced them to accept flags and in some instances to allow a few of the so-called soldiers to be stationed at their kraals. At the same time several energetic Englishmen obtained from the Matabele chief various concessions, which were united in the hands of one strong company, to which on the 29th of October 1889 a royal charter was granted.

In August 1890 an agreement was entered into by the governments of Great Britain and Portugal, in which the eastern limits of the British South Africa Chartered Company's territory were defined, but it was not ratified by the cortes, though it served as a basis for a temporary under-

standing between all the parties whose interests or whose passions were involved. At this time a strong body of men, fitted out by the Chartered Company, was on the way from the Cape Colony to the northern territory, and on the 11th of September 1890 reached the site of the present town of Salisbury, where the British flag was formally hoisted and the country taken in possession in the name of the queen.

On the way up the pioneer expedition had constructed forts at Tuli, Victoria, and Charter. From Charter the company's administrator, Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, with Mr. Frederick Courteney Selous and a small escort, travelled eastward to the kraal of Umtasa, the principal chief of the Manika country. With this chief, on the 14th of September, an arrangement was made, by which he placed himself under the protection of the British South Africa Company, to whom he granted a concession of mineral and other rights in his country. He declared that he was not, and never had been, under subjection or vassalage to the Portuguese government, but that a trading station had with his consent been established by the Mozambique Company in 1888 at a place called Andrada in the Masikesi district, some thirty-two kilometres to the south-east, and he knew that an agent of this company—João de Rezende by name—was residing there. A policeman and a black interpreter were left with Umtasa to represent the British South Africa Company, and Mr. Colquhoun then rejoined the pioneers at Salisbury.

Mr. Selous rode over to Masikesi to visit the Portuguese station, and on the way met two officers with a party of black attendants, who were bearers of a protest against the arrangement just made with Umtasa, and who claimed a vast extent of territory to the westward as being in the dominions of their sovereign. In that territory not a single Portuguese was then resident, and there were not ten individuals of that nation in the whole of Manika.

That they had a special claim upon the allegiance of Umtasa, resting chiefly upon the position in which he stood to a man named Gouveia, was afterwards brought forward.

This Gouveia, or Manuel Antonio de Sousa as he was called by the Portuguese, was a native of Goa who had settled in Africa shortly after the middle of the century. He was a man of considerable force of character, and had performed services of great importance for the crown. Having obtained a prazo, he armed and trained his dependents upon it, and then acted like a powerful feudal lord in mediæval times in Europe, being in matters affecting his retainers and in disputes with his neighbours almost, if not quite, independent, though in everything else acknowledging the supremacy of the Portuguese government.

He went to the aid of the people of Sena, drove away their Matshangana oppressors, and released them from the ignominy of paying tribute. He recovered much of the territory that had formerly been prazos and that had been overrun by the subjects of Manikusa. Services so eminent were warmly acknowledged by the governor-general at Mozambique and by the authorities in Lisbon, and Gouveia was appointed chief captain of a great district and had the honorary title of colonel conferred upon him. For twenty years the body of men that he commanded, consisting entirely of his black dependents, was almost the only military force employed by the Portuguese in South-Eastern Africa at a distance from their stations. Under these circumstances war could not be conducted as if the combatants were European soldiers, and Gouveia's reputation among his neighbours was rather that of a daring and successful freebooter than of an official of a civilised government.

In 1873 the chief of the largest clan in Manika died, and there was a quarrel concerning the succession. One of the claimants was Umtasa, but he was defeated in battle and driven away. This was just such an opportunity as Gouveia was wont to take advantage of, so he went to the aid of Umtasa, whom he succeeded in establishing firmly in the chieftainship as a vassal of his own. At the same time, however, Umtasa necessarily became a dependent of Umzila,

who was paramount over all the Bantu in that region. Thus he had two overlords, which meant that two individuals more powerful than himself claimed and exercised the right of levying tribute from him and his people at any time. And as both of these overlords were regarded as Portuguese subjects, it followed that he also was in the same position.

In addition to this he had been invested with the office of chief by the commandant of Sena, and had received the appointment of sergeant-major of Manika. Further, in February 1888 Colonel D'Andrada had hoisted the Portuguese flag at his kraal, and had left the flag in his keeping. On all these grounds, the Portuguese authorities claimed Umtasa as a subject and the district occupied by his people as part of the dominions of their crown.

The British South Africa Company's officers, on the other hand, declined to take any notice of the Portuguese claim, because it was evident Umtasa himself did not recognise it, and because those who made it had no means of maintaining order or protecting life and property, the essential duties of sovereignty. They did not admit that Gouveia's followers constituted a force such as a civilised government had a right to employ.

In October a report reached Salisbury that Colonel D'Andrada and Gouveia with a band of followers were on the way from the east towards Umtasa's kraal. Mr. Colquhoun at once sent a few policemen to support the chief, and soon afterwards increased the number to thirty and directed Captain Patrick William Forbes to take command. Captain Forbes arrived at Umtasa's kraal on the 5th of November, and formed a temporary camp at a short distance from it. He then sent a messenger to Masikesi, where Colonel D'Andrada and Gouveia then were, with a protest against their proceeding farther with an armed force.

Colonel D'Andrada had no wish to precipitate matters. He was a highly educated and amiable man, who had resided ten or twelve years in South Africa, where he had held

various offices under the government, besides being the occupant of a prazo at the mouth of the Zambesi. He knew perfectly well that any force which he and Gouveia could bring into the field would be unable to meet the British South Africa Company's police in battle. Besides he was a director of the Mozambique Company, and his interests were all on the side of peace. But he was also a Portuguese colonel of artillery, and his pride and patriotism revolted against being turned away from a place that he had more than once visited before, and that he regarded as Portuguese territory. His ostensible mission was to open a road to the interior from the head navigable water of the Pungwe and to arrange matters in connection with the exploitation of some mines, in the interests of his company. He resolved therefore to proceed on his journey. On the 8th of November Gouveia arrived at Umtasa's kraal, and was followed shortly afterwards by Colonel D'Andrada and João de Rezende, when their whole following amounted to between two and three hundred men, including palanquin-bearers, carriers, and personal attendants.

Captain Forbes now resolved upon decisive action. On the 14th of November with twelve troopers of his police he entered Umtasa's kraal, and arrested Gouveia and the two Portuguese gentlemen, who had just retired from an interview with the chief. The blacks looked on with approbation, and were ready to assist if that had been necessary. Gouveia's men were encamped under some trees several hundred metres away, where they were surprised by the remainder of the British police, and were disarmed before they could make any arrangement for resistance. De Rezende was permitted to return to Masikesi, but Colonel D'Andrada and Gouveia were sent as prisoners to Salisbury, and left that place under escort for Capetown. At Tuli, on the way, they met Dr. L. S. Jameson going up to assume the administration of the British Chartered Company's territory, and by him were released from further restraint. From Capetown Gouveia proceeded to Mozambique by steamer, and Colonel

D'Andrada took passage to Portugal to lay the matter before his government.

After the arrest of their leader and the seizure of their arms, Gouveia's men fled homeward, and to prevent the Mozambique Company's trading station at Andrada in Masikesi from being plundered, Captain Forbes placed a temporary guard there. He then proceeded to visit various chiefs living between the Busi and Pungwe rivers, with whom he entered into friendly arrangements, his object being to secure a road to the coast at Beira, a place which the Mozambique Company had recently made use of as a harbour.

There was great excitement in Portugal when intelligence of the events at Umtasa's kraal reached that country. Bands of students pressed forward as volunteers to defend the honour of their flag, and were sent with all haste to Beira. It seemed as if the ancient spirit of the people of the little kingdom had revived, and that they were ready to proceed to the last extremity in an attempt to get nominal possession of a territory that could be of no use whatever to them. The government, however, was not so far carried away with the prevailing excitement as to cease negotiations for a friendly settlement with the British authorities.

Upon the arrival of the first party of volunteers at Beira, they were sent forward with some negroes from Angola, under command of Major Cardas Xavier, to occupy Andrada. They arrived at that station on the 5th of May 1891. Not far distant was a camp of the British South Africa Company's police, fifty-three in number, commanded by Captain Heyman. On the 11th of May a Portuguese force, consisting of about a hundred Europeans and three or four hundred Angola blacks, was sent out to make a reconnaissance, and at two in the afternoon fell in with the English pickets, who retired upon the camp. The Portuguese followed, and an action was brought on, which resulted in their total defeat, with a heavy loss in killed and wounded. There were no casualties on the British side. Umtasa and his followers

watched the engagement from the top of a hill out of range of the shot, and expressed great satisfaction with the result, though probably they would have done the same if the position of the combatants had been reversed.

The whole Portuguese force now fled precipitately to the seacoast, abandoning Andrada, which the British Chartered Company's men occupied on the following day. They found there some stores, of which they took possession as lawful spoil of war, but the most valuable part of the booty consisted of eleven machine guns that had been left behind.

Meantime the negotiations between the two governments in Europe had been brought nearly to a close, and when intelligence of the collision arrived, they were quickly completed. On the 11th of June 1891 a treaty was signed at Lisbon, in which the boundary between the British and Portuguese possessions south of the Zambesi was declared to be a line starting from a point opposite the mouth of the river Aroangwa or Loangwa, running directly southward as far as the sixteenth parallel of south latitude, following that parallel to its intersection with the thirty-first degree of longitude east of Greenwich, thence running eastward direct to the point where the river Mazoe is intersected by the thirty-third degree of longitude east of Greenwich, following that degree southward to its intersection by the parallel of south latitude of 18° 30′, thence following the upper part of the eastern slope of the Manika plateau southward to the centre of the main channel of the Sabi, following that channel to its confluence with the Lunte, and thence striking direct to the north-eastern point of the frontier of the South African Republic. It was agreed that in tracing the frontier along the slope of the plateau, no territory west of longitude 32° 30′ east of Greenwich should be comprised in the Portuguese sphere, and no territory east of longitude 33° east of Greenwich should be comprised in the British sphere, except that the line should, if necessary, be deflected so as to leave Umtasa's kraal in the British sphere and Masikesi in the Portuguese sphere.

The treaty provided further that in the event of either of the powers proposing to part with any territory south of the Zambesi assigned to its sphere of influence, the other should have a preferential right to the territory in question, or any portion of it, upon similar terms.

It provided for the transit of goods across the Portuguese territory during the following twenty-five years upon payment of a duty not exceeding three per cent of their value, for the free navigation of the Zambesi, for the construction of lines of telegraph, and for facilitating transit of persons and goods of every description over the waterways of the various rivers and over the landways which supply means of communication where the rivers are not navigable.

A very important clause provided for the immediate survey and speedy construction of a railroad between the British sphere of influence and the navigable water of the Pungwe river, and for encouraging commerce by that route.

And now, for the first time, the Portuguese territory in South Africa was properly defined on all sides, and was secured from invasion by tribes beyond its border. It contained as great an area as its owners could by any possibility make beneficial use of, and as many Bantu as they had sufficient power to control. It would not have been to their advantage if the boundary had been laid down farther westward. They could not colonise any of the land beyond it, and without colonisation on a large scale an addition of territory would have implied nothing more than additional expense and additional responsibility. Now, with ample scope for their commercial enterprise, with an assured revenue, and with two flourishing seaports — Lourenço Marques and Beira—in their possession, their prospects were brighter than ever before. This they owed to the settlement of other Europeans on the highlands away from the coast, and their pride, which was wounded by seeing the vast interior of the continent in other hands, might be soothed by the reflection. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, a railroad was constructed between Beira and

Salisbury, through Umtali, the British town nearest the border. The capital was furnished by the British South Africa and Mozambique companies, the former contributing rather more than the latter. Since it was opened for use a railway has been constructed from Salisbury to the border of the Cape Colony, where it joins the great northern line with branches from Capetown, Port Elizabeth, and East London, so that there is now unbroken communication between Beira and those places. Beira is built on a tongue of sand extending into the Pungwe river. The site is the healthiest on that part of the coast, but the flat country stretching away behind is a hotbed of fever. The town has advanced with rapid strides, and is now a place of considerable importance.

The whole of Portuguese South Africa between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers, except the district of which Tete is the centre, is now ruled by the Mozambique Company. This company was formed in 1888 as a mining corporation, the acquisition of the gold-fields of Manika being the inducement to the shareholders to subscribe the capital. On the 11th of February 1891, however, the company obtained a royal charter, which conferred upon it large administrative powers. The charter was followed on the 30th of July by a royal decree, and on the 28th of December of the same year by the publication of statutes, which documents combined form the present constitution. The company has a monopoly of all mineral and commercial rights, which it may lease in detail to associations or individuals, it is under an obligation to introduce a limited number of colonists, and it has taxing and governing powers subject to the supreme authorities at Lisbon.

The chief official of the Mozambique Company in the territory between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers has the title of governor, and resides at Beira. The country is divided into districts, over each of which a commissioner, subordinate to the governor, presides. The officers who administer justice are appointed by the supreme government, and are

not subject to the Chartered Company, but to the governor-general at Mozambique. There are courts at Beira, Sena, Andrada, Sofala, Tshiloane, Gouveia, and Tshupanga. Sena and Sofala have not recovered their old importance, small as that was, and are now insignificant places compared with Beira. Andrada and Tshiloane have been described. Gouveia and Tshupanga, recently the centres of prazos, can hardly yet be dignified with the name of hamlets. The last-named—Tshupanga—on the southern bank of the Zambesi, is well known to English readers as the burial place of Mrs. Livingstone, wife of the celebrated explorer, and of Mr. Kilpatrick, a member of the surveying expedition under Captain Owen. It is one of the most beautiful localities in a land that abounds with charming scenery, but the deadly fever must for ever prevent it from becoming a place of note.

The old system of giving out great tracts of country as prazos has been abolished, unless the whole territory be regarded as one great prazo in possession of the Chartered Mozambique Company. By that company unoccupied ground is now allotted for agricultural purposes on quit-rent tenure, but no area larger than five thousand English acres can be held by any individual or association. Occupation of ground and mining are open to people of all nationalities, upon condition of their submission to the laws of the country.

The tract of land between the Limpopo and Manisa rivers, from the inland border to the sea, is held by another company under a concession from the crown, dated 16th of November 1893, but nothing of consequence has yet been done to develop its resources.

Inhambane, the port of the territory between the Limpopo and the Sabi, has made some progress of late years, though as it is dependent upon trade with the Bantu only, it is far less important than either Lourenço Marques or Beira. The village consists of a church and a few houses and shops.

There remains the territory of which Tete is the seat of government, between the Zambesi and the Anglo-Portuguese border west of the Mozambique Company's district. Early in the nineteenth century the greater number of the prazos there were almost denuded of people, so many were sent away as slaves to Brazil. Washing for gold ceased, and the larger part of the territory reverted to the condition in which it was when white people first saw it. The village of Tete sank to be a mere depôt of the ivory trade.

Thus long before 1844 Portuguese influence had been declining, and in that year it was completely lost by the insurrection of a Goanese half-breed named Joaquim José da Cruz, commonly called Nyaude, who was the holder of an extensive prazo. This man armed and trained some four hundred black dependents, and then built a strong stockade at the confluence of the Luenya with the Zambesi, from which he exacted tribute upon all commerce passing up and down. Two of the neighbouring chiefs were induced by the authorities of Tete to attack him, but were repulsed, and their people were exterminated by him as a warning to others.

Nyaude then sent a division of his force, under his son Bonga, or as called by the Portuguese Antonio Vicente da Cruz, against Tete, when the village was plundered and most of the buildings burned. The church and a few houses were spared, and the fort, into which the inhabitants retired, was not taken. In the following year, 1854, two hundred men were sent from Lisbon to suppress the revolt, but after suffering from hunger, fever, and other forms of misery, they were defeated by Bonga, and those who remained alive were obliged to retreat.

In 1855 an amnesty was offered to Nyaude, but he declined to accept it, and continued his career of robbery. The unfortunate inhabitants of Tete were reduced to great distress, but nothing could be done to relieve them, and no shadow of Portuguese authority remained beyond the range of the guns of the fort.

A few years later Nyaude died, and was succeeded by his son Bonga. Efforts were made to conciliate the new chief, who was appointed sergeant-major of Masangano, but he would not desist from plundering far and near, nor submit to control of any kind. Early in 1867 he massacred a number of people, and then a force eight hundred strong was raised at Mozambique and sent against him. On the 6th of August this force, when close to the stockade, was attacked by the robber captain, and was defeated with great slaughter. Two other expeditions sent against him in the same year also failed.

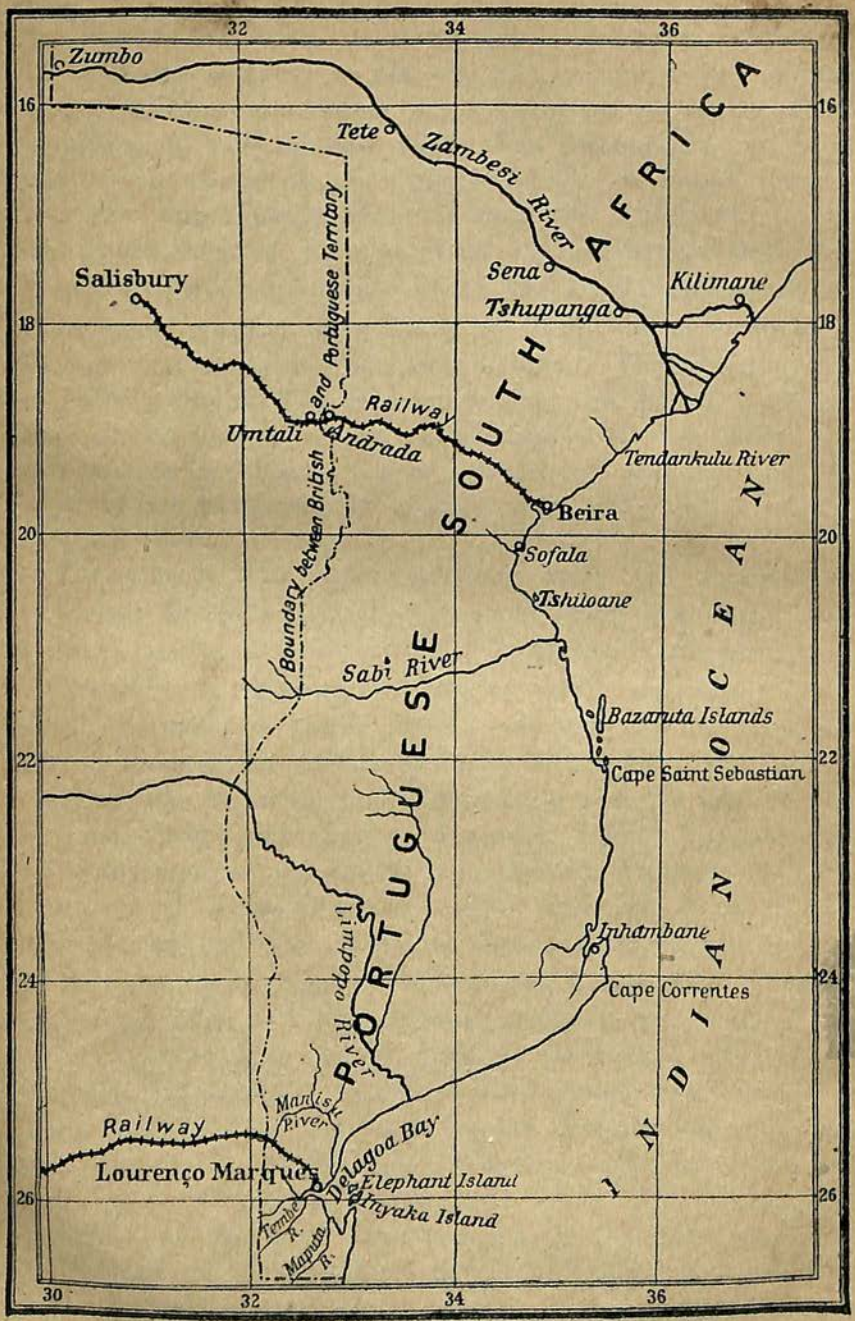
In 1869 Portugal made another effort to recover her authority. A hundred artillerymen and four hundred fusileers, well equipped with war material, were sent from Lisbon, and were joined by three hundred and fifty soldiers from Goa and as many Africans as could be enlisted and armed along the Zambesi. But the campaign was so badly conducted that the men were suffering from want of food before they reached the scene of action, and the military movements were carried on with the utmost vacillation and want of skill. Bonga's stockade was bombarded with artillery for three days without a breach being effected, and the army was so unskilfully distributed that the best section of it was surprised and annihilated by the rebel. The failure of the expedition was complete, and those who escaped slaughter were few.

From that time until 1888 Bonga's power — the power of an audacious and merciless ruffian — was supreme. Then Gouveia took the matter in hand, and not the least of the services which he performed for his government was the capture of the stockade and the destruction or dispersion of the robber band. Arrangements with various chiefs along the river followed, and Portuguese influence was again restored.

Tete has been rebuilt, and now contains the church which was spared when the village was plundered by Bonga and from twenty to thirty stone houses of European pattern,

roofed with red tiles. It is protected by a small garrison of black troops with white officers, who occupy a quadrangular fort overlooking the river. The European residents, officials included, do not number more than twenty-five or thirty, for the commerce of the place is small. A Bantu town of ordinary huts stands close behind the European quarter. The government of Tete, as of all the Portuguese stations in South Africa except those under the administration of the Chartered Company, is military in form, and subordinate to the general authority at Mozambique. The Jesuits have recently established a mission among the Bantu here, and also at a station a few kilometres distant. There are extensive coal fields in the neighbourhood, and it is possible that, owing to them, the village may some day become a thriving place.

Throughout the whole territory from the Zambesi to Lourenço Marques difficulties in controlling the Bantu have been experienced, but Portugal has opened her eyes to the fact that it is necessary to employ other and better forces than convicts and uncivilised negroes, and she has succeeded in establishing her authority fairly well. In a war with a chief named Makombi in 1892 Gouveia lost his life, but his opponents were subsequently vanquished. Then Umdungazwe, or Gungunyana as called by the Portuguese, son and successor of Umzila, gave a great deal of trouble. He assumed an attitude of independence, and demanded that tribute should be paid to him by the Portuguese. This led to war in 1894, but after several engagements in which his army was defeated, on the 28th of December 1895 he was surprised by Captain Mousinho d'Albuquerque at Tshaimite while sacrificing to the spirit of his grandfather Manikusa, and was made a prisoner. Captain D'Albuquerque had made a very daring march with only fifty Portuguese soldiers from the camp Languene on the Limpopo, and had been joined on the way by a couple of thousand blacks who were enemies of the Matshangana. The surprise was so complete that no resistance was offered. Gungunyana was


32
34
36
Zumbo
16
Tete
Zambesi River
SOUTH AFRICA
Salisbury
Sena
Kilimane
Tshupanga
18
Umtali
Andrada
Railway
Tendankulu River
Beira
20
Sofala
Tshiloane
Boundary between British and Portuguese Territory
Sabi River
PORTUGUESE
INDIAN OCEAN
Bazaruta Islands
22
Cape Saint Sebastian
Inhambane
24
Cape Correntes
Limpopo River
Manisi River
Railway
Lourenço Marques
Delagoa Bay
Elephant Island
Inyaka Island
26
Tembe R.
Maputo R.
30

taken to Lourenço Marques, and sent thence in a steamship to Lisbon, where he was confined in a fort. Since that event the peace of the country has not been seriously disturbed.

Lines of English and German steamships connect the various harbours with Europe by way of the Red sea, and with the British settlements of Natal and the Cape Colony. The commerce of the territory has made rapid progress. Unfortunately a large proportion of it is in the hands of Indian traders, a class of people who do not contribute to the strength of the country, nor improve it in any way. But in all other respects the prospects of Portuguese South Africa seem brighter now at the close of the nineteenth century than at any previous time since Pedro d'Anaya built the first fort on the river bank of Sofala.

* She put into Table Bay on the passage, where through the courtesy of her officers the author of this volume was accorded an interview of some length with the prisoner, and learnt from him many particulars concerning the history of his tribe. He and his family were exceedingly well treated on board the *Africa*. After a short confinement in Portugal Gungunyana was sent to one of the possessions on the west coast, where he was set at large, and where he remained till his death in December 1906.

LIST OF PRINTED BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS CONTAINING INFORMATION ON SOUTH AFRICA IN RECENT TIMES.

I regret that I am unable to give as complete a list of books on South African subjects published since 1860 as I did of those relating to this country before 1795 in the third volume of my *History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi from 1505 to 1795* and of those published between 1795 and 1860 as can be found in the third volume of this *History of South Africa since* 1795. I have not been able to replace the whole of my books destroyed by fire in 1892, and I have now hardly any in a Bantu dialect. During my absence in Europe from 1896 to 1905 many of my books got astray, and I have not even attempted to collect all those published since 1898. The following list therefore is imperfect, but it may be of assistance to those who are interested in the matter.

Aardrijkskunde en Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat, voor schoolgebruik. Crown octavo, 109 pages, published at Utrecht in 1884.

A Expedição da Zambesia em 1869. A pamphlet of 48 pages, printed at Nova Goa in 1870.

A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1848. Foolscap octavo, 87 pages, published at London in 1852. (Bound with the journal of a similar tour in 1850.)

Anderson, Andrew A.: *Twenty-five Years in a Waygon. Sport and Travel in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 435 pages, published at London in 1888.

Andersson, Charles John: *Lake Ngami, or Explorations and Discoveries during four years' Wanderings in the Wilds of South-Western Africa.* Imperial octavo, 546 pages, published at London in 1856.

de Andrada, J. Paiva: *Manica, being a Report addressed to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies of Portugal.* A crown octavo pamphlet of 63 pages, published at London in 1891.

Arnot, Hon. David and Francis H. S. Orpen: *The Land Question of Griqualand West.* Royal octavo, 351 pages, published at Capetown in 1875.

Atcherley, Rowland J., Ph.D.: *A Trip to Boerland, or a Year's Travel, Sport, and Gold-digging in the Transvaal and Colony of Natal.* Demi octavo, 277 pages, published at London in 1879.

Aubertin, J. J.: *Six Months in Cape Colony and Natal.* Crown octavo, 279 pages, published at London in 1886.

'Aylward, Alfred: *The Transvaal of To-day.* Demi octavo, 440 pages, published at Edinburgh and London in 1878.

Baines, Thomas: *Explorations in South-West Africa, being an Account of a Journey in the years 1861 and 1862 from Walvisch Bay on the Western Coast to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls.* Demi octavo, 548 pages, published at London in 1864.

Baines, Thomas: *The Gold Regions of South-Eastern Africa.* Royal octavo, 211 pages, published at London and Port Elizabeth in 1877.

Baldwin, William Charles: *African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi from 1852 to 1860.* Demi octavo, 451 pages, published at London in 1863.

Barkley, Mrs.: *Among Boers and Basutos.* Crown octavo, 270 pages, London, 1893.

Baynes, C. R.: *Notes and Reflections during a Ramble in the East.* Demi octavo, 279 pages, published at London in 1843. (Sixty-one pages are devoted to the Cape.)

Bellairs, Kenneth ffarington: *The Witwatersrandt Goldfields: a Trip to Johannesburg and back.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 59 pages, published at London in 1889.

Bent, J. Theodore: *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, being a record of excavation and exploration in 1891.* Crown octavo, 427 pages, published at London in 1896.

Bertin, G., M.R.A.S.: *The Bushmen and their Language.* Demi octavo, 31 pages, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume XV.

Bertrand, Alfred: *The Kingdom of the Barotsi, Upper Zambezia.* Royal octavo, 324 pages, published at London in 1899.

Bigelow, Pultney: *White Man's Africa.* Crown octavo, 299 pages, London and New York, 1900.

Bigelow, Poultney: *Au Pays des Boers.* Crown octavo, 316 pages, published at Paris in 1901.

Bleek, W. H. I., Ph.D.: *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages.* Parts I and II, together 322 pages, demi octavo, London and Capetown, Part I 1862, Part II 1869.

Bleek, W. H. I., Ph.D.: *Reynard the Fox in South Africa, or Hottentot Fables and Tales.* Crown octavo, 125 pages, London, 1864.

Blink, Dr. H.: *Aardrijkskunde van Zuid-Afrika.* Demi octavo, 90 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1889.

Bluebooks on Native Affairs, published yearly after 1874.

Boissevain, Charles: *The Struggle of the Dutch Republics.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 93 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1900.

Bonwick, James: *Climate and Health in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 126 pages, published at London in 1880.

Bourne, H. R. Fox: *The Story of our Colonies, with sketches o their present condition.* Crown octavo, 411 pages, published at London in 1859.

Bovill, Rev. John H.: *Natives under the Transvaal Flag.* Crown octavo, 82 pages, published at London in 1900.

Boyle, Frederick: *To the Cape for Diamonds.* Demi octavo, 434 pages, published at London in 1873.

Brink, Melt, J.: *Grappige Stories en Andere Versies in Kaaps Hollands.* Crown octavo, 141 pages, published at Capetown in 1893.

British Rule in South Africa: a collection of official documents and other correspondence. Demi octavo, 220 pages, published at Capetown in 1868.

Brown, A. Samler and G. Gordon: *The Guide to South Africa.* Published annually by the Castle Mail Packets Company since 1892.

Brown, Rev. John: *English and Secwana Vocabulary.* Demi octavo, 291 pages, published at London in 1876.

Brown, William Harvey: *On the South African Frontier: the Adventures and Observations of an American in Mashonaland and Matabeleland.* Demi octavo, 430 pages, London, 1899.

Brownlee, W. T.: *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History,* by the late Hon. Charles Brownlee. Demi octavo, 403 pages, Lovedale, 1896.

Bryce, James: *Impressions of South Africa.* Demi octavo, 604 pages, published at London in 1897.

Bryden, H. A.: *Kloof and Karroo: Sport, Legend, and Natural History in Cape Colony.* Demi octavo, 435 pages, published at London in 1889.

Bud-M'Belle, I.: *Kafir Scholar's Companion.* Demi octavo, 204 pages, published at Lovedale in 1903.

Burton, A. R. E., F.R.G.S.: *Cape Colony to-day.* An Illustrated Handbook. Crown quarto, 315 pages, Capetown, 1907.

Cape of Good Hope Census of 1891. A large foolscap volume.

Cape of Good Hope Government and Legislature considered. Demi octavo, 303 pages, published at London in 1851.

Campbell, Colin Turing: *British South Africa, a History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from its Conquest in 1795 to the Settlement of Albany by the British Emigration of 1819.* Demi octavo, 222 pages, London, 1897.

Carter, Thomas Fortescue: *A Narrative of the Boer War.* Demi octavo, 574 pages, published at London in 1899.

Cecil Rhodes: a Biography and Appreciation. By Imperialist. *With Personal Reminiscences,* by Dr. Jameson. Crown octavo, 413 pages, London, 1897.

Chadwick, J. Cooper: *Three Years with Lobengula, and Experiences in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 160 pages, London, 1894.

Chalmers, Rev. John A.: *Tiyo Soga, a Page of South African Mission Work.* Crown octavo, 488 pages, Edinburgh, 1877.

Chapman, Captain Charles: *A Voyage from Southampton to Capetown, . . . two thousand miles Journey through Kaffirland, &c., &c., &c.* Demi octavo, 218 pages, published at London in 1872.

Chesson, F. W.: *The Dutch Republics of South Africa.* Demi octavo, 63 pages, published at London in 1871.

Chesson, F. W.: *The War in Zululand: a brief review of Sir Bartle Frere's policy.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 26 pages, published at London in 1879.

Christol, Frederic: *Au Sud de l'Afrique.* Small octavo, 308 pages, published at Paris in 1897.

Clairmonte, E.: *The Africander, a plain tale of colonial life.* Demi octavo, 272 pages, published at London in 1896.

Clark, G. B.: *British Policy towards the Boers.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 39 pages, published at London in 1881.

Cole, Alfred W.: *The Cape and the Kafirs, or Notes of Five Years' Residence in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 319 pages, published at London in 1852.

Colenso, Miss F. E. (Atherton Wylde): *My Chief and I, or six months in Natal after the Langalibalele outbreak.* Demi octavo, 327 pages, published at London in 1880.

Colenso, Frances E. and Lieut.-Colonel Edward Durnford: *History of the Zulu War and its Origin.* Crown octavo, 445 pages, published at London in 1881.

Colenso, Frances Ellen: *The Ruin of Zululand: an Account of British Doings in Zululand since the Invasion of 1879.* Demi octavo, two volumes, published at London in 1885.

Colquhoun, Archibald R.: *Matabeleland, the War, and our Position in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 167 pages, published at London in 1893.

Correspondence between Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Bart., Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Transvaal Delegates. A demi octavo pamphlet of 58 pages, published at London in 1881.

Corvo, João de Andrade: *Estudos sobre as Provincias Ultramarinas.* Four demi octavo volumes, published at Lisbon, 1883-1887.

de Castilho, Augusto: *O Districto de Lourenço Marques no presente e no futuro.* Crown octavo, 232 pages, published at Lisbon in 1882.

Cousins, Rev. H. T., Ph.D.: *Tiyo Soga, the model Kafir missionary.* Crown octavo, 160 pages, published at London in 1897.

Crisp, Rev. William, B.D., Archdeacon of Bloemfontein: *The Bechuana of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 60 pages, London, 1896.

Cunynghame, General Sir Arthur Thurlow, G. C. B.: *My Command in South Africa. 1874-1878. Comprising experiences of travel in the colonies of South Africa and the independen states.* Demi octavo, 376 pages, published at London in 1879.

David Malan: een verhaal uit den Grooten Trek. Crown octavo, 180 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown, date not given.

Davis, Rev. William J.: *A Grammar of the Kaffir Language.* Demi octavo, 191 pages, published at London in 1872.

Döhne, Rev. J. L.: *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary.* Royal octavo, 460 pages, published at Capetown in 1857.

Dower, Rev. William: *The Early Annals of Kokstad and Griqualand East.* Demi octavo, 129 pages, Port Elizabeth, 1902.

Doyle, A. Conan: *The War in South Africa, its cause and conduct.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 156 pages, published at London in 1902.

Dreyer, A.: *Geschiedenis van de Gemeente Swellendam.* Crown octavo, 73 pages, published at Capetown in 1899.

Duplessis, C. N. J.: *The Transvaal Boer speaking for himself.* A crown octavo pamphlet of 120 pages, published at London in 1899.

Dutoit, S. J.: *Sambesia, of Salomo's Goudmijnen bezocht.* Demi octavo, 217 pages, published at Paarl in 1895.

van Duyl, A. G. C.: *Een Afrikander.* Demi octavo, 71 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1883.

Ellis, Major A. B.: *South African Sketches.* Crown octavo, 256 pages, published at London in 1887.

Farrelly, M. J., LL.D.: *The Settlement after the War in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 321 pages, published at London in 1900.

Farrer, J. A.: *Zululand and the Zulus.* Foolscap octavo, 151 pages, published at London (third edition) in 1879.

Fitzpatrick, J. P.: *The Transvaal from within.* Demi octavo, 461 pages, published at London in 1899.

Fleming, Rev. Francis, M.A.: *Kaffraria and its Inhabitants.* Crown octavo, 144 pages, published at London in 1853.

Fleming, Rev. Francis, M.A.: *Southern Africa, a Geography and Natural History of the Country, Colonies, and Inhabitants from the Cape of Good Hope to Angola.* Crown octavo, 487 pages, published at London in 1856.

Folk-Lore Journal. Edited by the Working Committee of the South African Folk-lore Society (practically Miss L. C. Lloyd). Capetown and London, 1879 and 1880.

Forssman, O. W. A.: *A Guide for Agriculturists and Capitalists, Speculators, Miners, &c., wishing to invest money profitably in the Transvaal Republic, South Africa.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 41 pages, published at Capetown in 1872.

Fritsch, Gustav, Med. Dr.: *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's Ethnographisch und Anatomisch beschrieben.* Quarto, 528 pages + tables and plates, Breslau, 1872.

Froude, James Anthony, M.A.: *Two Lectures on South Africa.* Royal octavo, 85 pages, published at London in 1880.

Gereformeerd Maandblad, published at Capetown. Beginning with May 1892.

Gibson, John: *A Manual of the Geography of British South Africa.* Crown octavo, 76 pages, published at Port Elizabeth in 1852.

Gillmore, Parker: *The Hunter's Arcadia.* Demi octavo, 300 pages, published at London in 1886.

Glanville, E.: The *South African Goldfields.* Crown octavo, 128 pages, London, 1888.

Godlonton, R. and Edward Irving: *A Narrative of the Kaffir War of 1850-51.* Demi octavo, 310 pages, published at London in 1851. (Left incomplete.)

Govan, Rev. William: *Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. James Laing, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Kaffraria.* Crown octavo, 364 pages, published at Glasgow in 1875.

Green, John: *The Kat River Settlement in 1851.* Demi octavo, 200 pages, published at Grahamstown in 1853.

Greswell, William, M.A.: *Our South African Empire.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1885.

Grout, Rev. Lewis: *A Grammar of the Zulu Language.* Demi octavo, 484 pages, published at London and Natal in 1859.

Haggard, H. Rider: *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours.* Demi octavo, 294 pages, London, 1882.

Hahn, Theophilus, Ph.D.: *Tsuni-||Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi.* Demi octavo, 154 pages, published at London and Capetown in 1881.

Hall, Henry, R.E.D.: *Manual of South African Geography.* Foolscap octavo, 190 pages, published at Capetown in 1859.

Hall, R. N. and W. G. Neal: *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia.* Demi octavo, 452 pages, published at London in 1904.

Hall, R. N: *Great Zimbabwe, an account of two years' examination work in 1902-4 on behalf of the Government of Rhodesia.* Demi octavo, 503 pages, published at London in 1905.

Hamilton, Charles, F.A.S.L.: *Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa.* Crown octavo, 268 pages, London, 1870.

Hendry, Hamish: *Majuba, Bronkerspruit, Ingogo, Lang's Nek, and Krugersdorp.* Crown octavo, 173 pages, published at London in 1900.

Hillier, Alfred P., B.A., M.D.: *Raid and Reform, by a Pretoria Prisoner, with two Essays on the Antiquity of Man in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 156 pages, published at London in 1898.

Hillier, Alfred, B.A., M.D.: *South African Studies.* Crown octavo 314 pages, published at London in 1900.

Hobson, J. A.: *The War in South Africa, its causes and effects.* Crown octavo, 330 pages, published at London in 1900.

Hofmeyr, Adrian: *The Story of my Captivity during the Transvaal War, 1899-1900.* Crown octavo, 302 pages, published at London in 1900.

Hofmeyr, Eerw. Stefanus: *Twintig Jaren in Zoutpansberg.* Demi octavo, 322 pages, published at Capetown in 1890.

Hofmeyr, N. J.: *Kijkjes in onze Geschiedenis, een Leesboek voor School en Huisgezin.* Small octavo, 168 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown in 1893.

Hofmeyr, N. J.: *De Afrikaner-Boer en de Jameson Inval.* Small octavo, 504 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown in 1896.

Holub, Dr. Emil: *Seven Years in South Africa: Travels, Researches, and Hunting Adventures between the Diamond Fields and the Zambesi* (1872-79). English translation by Ellen E. Frewer, two demi octavo volumes, London, 1881.

Hudson, M. B.: *A Feature in South African Frontier Life, based upon the wanderings of a Frontier Family, but embracing a complete record of the Kafir War of 1850-1851.* (In verse). Crown octavo, 270 pages, published at Port Elizabeth in 1852.

Indaba, a periodical in the Xosa language published at Lovedale from August 1862 to February 1865, bound in one octavo volume.

Interview between Her Majesty's High Commissioner Sir Bartle Frere and the Deputation from the Boer Committee at the Burgher Camp, April, 1879. A demi octavo pamphlet of 60 pages.

Jacottet, E.: *Contes Populaires des Bassoutos.* Small octavo, 315 pages, published at Paris in 1895.

Jeppe, Fred.: *Transvaal Book Almanac and Directory.* Commencing with 1877.

Jeppe, Fred.: *De Locale Wetten der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek. 1849-1885. Uitgegeven voor rekening der Z. A. Republiek.* Royal octavo, 1,629 pages, published at Pretoria in 1887.

Johnston, James, M.D.: *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa.* Quarto, 353 pages, London, 1893.

Junod, Henri A.: *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga de la Baie de Delagoa.* Crown octavo, 327 pages, published at Lausanne in 1897.

Junod, Henri A.: *Les Ba-Ronga, étude ethnographique sur les Indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa.* Demi octavo, 500 pages, published at Neuchatel in 1898.

Keane, Professor A. H.: *The Boer States: Land and People.* Crown octavo, 307 pages, London, 1900.

Keane, Professor A. H., F.R.G.S.: *The Gold of Ophir, whence brought and by whom.* Crown octavo, 244 pages, London, 1901.

Kerr, Walter Montagu: *The Far Interior, a Narrative of Travel and Adventure from the Cape of Good Hope across the Zambesi to the Lake Regions of Central Africa.* Two demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1886.

Kidd, Dudley: *The Essential Kafir.* Demi octavo, 436 pages, profusely illustrated, published at London in 1904.

Kilpin, Ernest F., C.M.G.: *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List.* Published yearly at Capetown since 1886.

King, Captain W. R.: *Campaigning in Kaffirland, or Scenes and Adventures in the Kaffir War of 1851-2.* Crown octavo, 339 pages, published at London in 1853.

Kinloch, Charles Walter: *The Cape of Good Hope and the Kaffir question.* Demi octavo, 66 pages, published at Capetown in 1856.

Knight-Bruce, Bishop G. W. H.: *Memories of Mashonaland.* Demi octavo, 242 pages, published at London and New York in 1895.

Kock, Antonio François: *Verdragen der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. Compilatie van Tractaten, Conventies, enz.* Royal octavo, 152 pages, published at Pretoria in 1897.

Kolbe, Rev. F. W.: *An English-Herero Dictionary, with an Introduction to the Study of Herero and Bantu in general.* Crown octavo, 624 pages, published at Capetown in 1883.

Kolbe, Rev. F. W.: *A Language Study based on Bantu.* Demi octavo, 106 pages, published at London in 1888.

Kotzé, J. G.: *De Locale Wetten en Volksraads-Besluiten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.* 1886-1887. Royal octavo, 205 pages, published at Pretoria in 1888

Laing, Major D. Tyrie: *The Matabele Rebellion 1896. With the Belingwe Field Force.* Crown octavo, 327 pages, London, no date.

Leclercq, Jules: *A travers L'Afrique Australe.* Crown octavo, 312 pages, Paris, 1895.

Leesboek over Geschiedenis voor de Scholen in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. Demi octavo, 316 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1892.

Leibbrandt, H. C. V.: *The Rebellion of 1815 generally known as Slachter's Nek.* Demi octavo, 979 pages, published at Capetown in 1902.

Le Transvaal et la Chartered. Small octavo, 368 pages, published at Paris in 1897.

Leyland, J. (Naturalist): *Adventures in the far Interior of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 283 pages, London, 1866.

Lindley, Captain Augustus: *After Ophir, or a search for the South African Gold Fields.* Quarto, 312 pages, published at London, date not given, probably 1870.

Lindley, Captain Augustus: *Adamantia, the Truth about the South African Diamond Fields.* Demi octavo, 423 pages, published at London in 1873.

Little, James Stanley: *South Africa, a Sketch Book of Men, Manners, and Facts.* Two demi octavo volumes, London, 1884.

Little, Rev. W. J. Knox: *Sketches and Studies in South Africa.* Royal octavo, 328 pages, published at London in 1900.

Livingstone, Rev. Dr. David, and Charles: *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries.* Demi octavo, 608 pages, London, 1865.

van der Loo, C. J.: *De Geschiedenis der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek aan het Volk verteld.* A pamphlet of 198 pages, published at Zwolle in 1896.

Lovedale Past and Present. Demi octavo, 665 pages, published at Lovedale in 1887.

Lucas, Thomas J.: *Camp Life and Sport in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 258 pages, published at London in 1878.

Lucas, Thomas J.: *The Zulus and the British Frontiers.* Demi octavo, 387 pages, published at London in 1879.

Ludlow, Captain W. R.: *Zululand and Cetewayo.* Crown octavo, 219 pages, London, second edition 1882.

Lyall, C. H.: *Twenty years in Khama's Country and pioneering among the Batauana of Lake Ngami, told in the letters of the Rev. J. D. Hepburn.* Demi octavo, 410 pages, published at London in 1895.

Macintosh, C. W.: *Coillard of the Zambesi, the Lives of François and Christina Coillard, of the Paris Missionary Society, in South and Central Africa.* Demi octavo, 503 pages, London, 1907.

Maciver, David Randall, M.A., D.Sc.: *Mediæval Rhodesia.* Large quarto, 121 pages, profusely illustrated, published at London in 1906.

Mackay, Wallis: *The Prisoner of Chiloane, or With the Portuguese in South-East Africa.* Small quarto, 184 pages, published at London in 1890.

Macdonald, Rev. James: *Light in Africa.* Demi octavo, 263 pages, London, 1890.

Macgregor, J. C., Assistant Commissioner, Leribe, (compiler): *Basuto Traditions.* Demi octavo, 67 pages, Capetown, 1905.

Mackenzie, Rev. John: *Ten Years north of the Orange river, a story of everyday Life and Work among the South African tribes from 1859 to 1869.* Crown octavo, 523 pages, published at Edinburgh in 1871.

Mackenzie, Rev. John: *Austral Africa, losing it or ruling it, being Incidents and Experiences in Bechuanaland, Cape Colony, and England.* Two demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1887.

Mackenzie, William: *Sketches of Travel in Southern Africa.* Crown octavo, 66 pages, published at Edinburgh in 1824.

Macnab, Frances: *On Veldt and Farm in Bechuanaland, Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and Natal.* Crown octavo, 318 pages, published at London and New York in 1897.

Mahan, Captain A. T.: *The Story of the War in South Africa,* 1899-1900. Demi octavo, 322 pages, published at London in 1900.

Martin, Annie: *Home Life on an Ostrich Farm.* Crown octavo, 288 pages, published at London in 1890.

Martin, Minnie: *Basutoland, its Legends and Customs.* Crown octavo, 182 pages, published at London in 1903.

Martineau, John: *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., F.R.S., etc.* Two large demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1895.

Mathers, E. P.: *Zambezia, England's El Dorado in Africa.* Royal octavo, 480 pages, published at London in 1891.

Matthews, J. W., M.D.: *Incwadi Yami, or Twenty Years' Personal Experience in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 542 pages, published at New York in 1887.

Maydon, J. G.: *French's Cavalry Campaign.* Crown octavo, 198 pages, published at London in 1902.

M'Kay, James: *Reminiscences of the last Kafir War.* Crown octavo, 206 pages, published at Grahamstown in 1871.

M'Kenzie, Fred. A.: *Paul Kruger: his Life Story.* Crown octavo, 120 pages, published at London in 1899.

M'Leod, Lyons: *Travels in Eastern Africa, with the Narrative of a Residence in Mozambique.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1860.

Merriman, Ven. Archdeacon: *The Kafir, the Hottentot, and the Frontier Farmer.* Foolscap octavo, 200 pages, published at London in 1853.

Methley, James Erasmus: *The New Colony of Port Natal, with Information for Emigrants.* Crown octavo, 90 pages, London, second edition 1850.

Methuen, A. M. S.: *Peace or War in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 284 pages, published at London in 1901.

Mitford, Bertram: *Through the Zulu Country, its Battlefields and its People.* Demi octavo, 332 pages, published at London in 1883.

Mohr, Edward: *To the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi.* Translated from German by N. d'Anvers. Demi octavo, 462 pages, London, 1876.

Moffat, Rev. John S.: *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat.* Demi octavo, 468 pages, published at London in 1886.

Molteno, Percy Alport, M.A., LL.B.: *A Federal South Africa.* Crown octavo, 260 pages, published at London in 1896.

Molteno, Percy Alport, M.A., LL.B.: *The Life and Times of Sir John Charles Molteno, K.C.M.G., First Premier of Cape Colony.* Two large demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1900.

Molyneux, Major-General W. C. F.: *Campaigning in South Africa and Egypt.* Demi octavo, 287 pages, published at London in 1896.

Monteiro, Rose: *Delagoa Bay: its Natives and Natural History.* Crown octavo, 274 pages, London, 1891.

Moodie, Duncan Campbell Francis: *The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers, and the Zulus in Southern Africa.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at Capetown in 1888.

Muller, Dr. Hendrik P. N.: *Land und Leute zwischen Zambesi und Limpopo.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 165 pages, published at Giessen in 1894.

Muller, Dr. Hendrik P. N.: *Oude Tyden in den Oranje Vrijstaat.* Royal octavo, 383 pages, published at Leiden in 1907.

Munro, Surgeon-General: *Records of Service and Campaigning in many lands.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1887.

Murray, Hugh, and others: *Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa from the earliest ages to the present time.* Foolscap octavo, 472 pages, published at London (third edition) in 1840.

Nachtigal, Rev. A.: *Die ältere Heiden-mission in Süd Afrika.* Demi octavo, 90 pages, published at Berlin in 1891.

Natal, 1846-1851, a Chapter in supplement of Historical Record. By an old Inhabitant. A pamphlet of 27 pages, published at Pietermaritzburg in 1891.

Natal Ordinances, Laws, and Proclamations, compiled and edited under the authority and by the sanction of his Excellency the lieutenant-governor and the honorable the legislative council, by Charles Fitzwilliam Cadiz, B.A., one of the judges of the supreme court, and Robert Lyon, late librarian of the legislative council. Vol. I 1845-1870 and Vol. II 1870-1879, together 1,627 pages, royal octavo, Pietermaritzburg, 1879 and 1880.

das Neves, D. Fernandes: *A Hunting Expedition to the Transvaal.* Translated from Portuguese by Mariana Monteiro. Crown octavo, 280 pages, London, 1879.

Nicholson, G.: *Fifty Years in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 273 pages, London, 1898.

Nixon, John: *The Complete Story of the Transvaal.* Demi octavo, 392 pages, published at London in 1885.

Noble, John: *Descriptive Handbook of the Cape Colony.* Crown octavo, 318 pages, published at London and Capetown in 1875.

Norbury, Fleet-Surgeon Henry F.: *The Naval Brigade in South Africa during the years 1877-78-79.* Crown octavo, 317 pages, published at London in 1880.

Norris-Newman, Charles L.: *With the Boers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1880-1.* Demi octavo, 403 pages, published at London in 1882.

Notulen der Verrigtingen van den Hoog Edelen Volksraad van den Oranje Vrij Staat. Commencing on the 28th of March 1854.

Official Reports on Native Questions. A number of these bound in a royal octavo volume.

Ogden, H. J.: *The War against the Dutch Republics in South Africa.* Quarto, 344 pages, published at Manchester in 1901.

de Oliveira, Delfim José: *A Provincia de Moçambique e o Bonga.* A pamphlet of 42 pages, published at Coimbra in 1879.

Onder de Vierkleur: een Verhaal uit den tijd van den Jameson-Inval. Crown octavo, 288 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown in 1899.

van Oordt, J. F., B.A.: *Paul Kruger en de Opkomst der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.* Large quarto, 904 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown in 1898.

van Oordt, J. F., B.A.: *The Origin of the Bantu.* Royal octavo, 97 pages, Capetown, 1907.

van Oordt, J. W. G., Ph.D.: *Slagtersnek, een bladzijde uit de Voorgeschiedenis der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek.* Royal octavo, 140 pages, published at Amsterdam and Pretoria in 1897.

Palgrave, W. Coates: *Report on Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876.* Royal octavo, 162 pages, published at Capetown in 1877.

Parr, Captain Henry Hallam: *A Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars, Guadana to Isandhlwana.* Crown octavo, 283 pages, published at London in 1880.

Passarge, Prof. Dr. S.: *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari.* Royal octavo, 144 pages, Berlin, 1907.

Paul Kruger's afkomst en familie, benevens verscheidene zeldzame Portretten en Afbeeldingen. Royal octavo, 48 pages, published at Pretoria in 1904.

Perris, G. H.: *Blood and Gold in South Africa, an answer to Dr. Conan Doyle.* An octavo pamphlet of 79 pages, published at London in 1902.

Pratt, Edwin A.: *Leading Points in South African History.* Demi octavo, 384 pages, published at London in 1900.

Prior, James: *Voyage along the Eastern Coast of Africa, to Mosambique, Johanna, Quiloa, &c., in the Nisus frigate.* Demi octavo, 114 pages, published at London in 1819.

Prior, James; *Voyage in the Indian Seas in the Nisus frigate, to the Cape of Good Hope, &c., during the years 1810 and 1811.* Demi octavo, 114 pages, published at London in 1820.

Purvis, William Frederick, and Leonard Vivian Biggs: *South Africa its People, Progress, and Problems.* Crown octavo, 302 pages, published at London in 1896.

Rae, Rev. Colin: *Malaboch, or Notes from my Diary on the Boer Campaign of 1894 against the Chief Malaboch.* Demi octavo, 267 pages, published at London and Capetown in 1898.

Ralph, Julian: *Towards Pretoria, a Record of the War between Briton and Boer to the hoisting of the British flag at Bloemfontein.* Crown octavo, 381 pages, published at London in 1900.

Rankin, Daniel J.: *The Zambesi Basin and Nyassaland.* Crown octavo, 283 pages, published at London in 1893.

Recollections of a Visit to British Kaffraria. Author's name not given, but evidently a clergyman of the church of England. Foolscap octavo, 160 pages, London, 1866.

van Rees, W. A.: *Naar de Transvaal.* A pamphlet of 42 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1876.

Rees, William Lee: *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.* Demi octavo, 628 pages, published at London, no date.

Reitz, F. W.: *Vijftig uitgesogte Afrikaanse Gedigte.* Demi octavo, 189 pages, published at Capetown in 1888.

Reitz, F. W.: *A Century of Wrong.* Demi octavo, 175 pages, published at London in 1900.

Report and Evidence of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basuto. Royal octavo, 68 pages, Capetown, 1873.

Report and Proceedings of the Tembuland Commission. A thick foolscap folio volume, published at Capetown in 1883.

Report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs. Royal octavo, 183 pages, Capetown, 1874.

Ricards, Right Rev. Dr.: *The Catholic Church and the Kaffir.* Crown octavo, 127 pages, London, 1880.

Ridsdale, Rev. Benjamin: *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand.* Crown octavo, 293 pages, London, 1883.

Ritchie, J. Ewing: *Brighter South Africa, or Life at the Cape and Natal.* Crown octavo, 232 pages, published at London in 1892.

Ritchie, Leitch: *A Sketch of the life of Thomas Pringle,* 149 pages, and *Pringle's Poetical Works,* 219 pages. Royal octavo, published at London in 1838.

Robertson, John: *Six Years on the Road, or Reminiscences of Colonial Life, Scenes, and Incidents.* Crown octavo, 96 pages, published at Capetown in 1856.

Robertson, John M.: *The Truth about the War: an open letter to Dr. A. Conan Doyle.* A pamphlet of 48 pages, published at London in 1902.

Robertson, J. S.: *Life of Dr. David Livingstone.* Crown octavo, 320 pages, published at London in 1882.

Robinson, Commander Chas. N., R.N., (editor): *A Pictorial History of South Africa and the Transvaal.* Royal octavo, 122 pages, London, third edition 1900.

Roche, Harriet A.: *On Trek in the Transvaal, or Over Berg and Veldt in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 367 pages, London, 1878.

Schüssler, F.: *Zuid Afrika populair geschetst.* Demi octavo, 170 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1878.

Selections from the Writings of the late E. B. Watermeyer, with a Brief Sketch of his Life. Demi octavo, 303 pages, published at Capetown in 1877.

Selous, Frederick Courteney: *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa, being the Narrative of the last eleven years spent by the Author on the Zambesi and its Tributaries, with an Account of the Colonisation of Mashunaland and the Progress of the Gold Industry in that Country.* Royal octavo, 503 pages, published at London in 1893.

Selous, Frederick Courteney: *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia.* Royal octavo, 317 pages, published at London in 1896.

Shaw, John, M.D.: *The Festering Sore in South Africa, as viewed by a Surgeon, and the Cry of the Children as he hears it.* A crown octavo pamphlet of 59 pages, published at London in 1901.

Sidwell, Henry B., B.A.: *The Story of South Africa.* Foolscap octavo, 150 pages, published at Capetown in 1889.

Smith, Andrew, M.A.: *A Contribution to South African Materia Medica, chiefly from Plants in use among the Natives.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 164 pages, published at Lovedale (second edition) in 1888.

Smith, Ronald, (editor): *The Great Gold Lands of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 296 pages, London, 1891.

Smith, Rev. Thornley: *South Africa delineated, or Sketches historical and descriptive of its Tribes and Missions and of the British colonies of the Cape and Port Natal.* Crown octavo, 216 pages, London, 1850.

Staats Almanak voor de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. 1897. Royal octavo, 376 pages. Published at Pretoria.

Stanford, Sir Robert: *Loyalty and its Reward, or Justice versus Law at the Cape of Good Hope in the nineteenth century.* Royal octavo, 254 pages, published at Capetown in 1859.

Stanley, Henry M.: *Through South Africa.* Crown octavo, 140 pages, published at London in 1898.

Statham, F. Reginald: *Blacks, Boers, and British.* Crown octavo, 271 pages, published at London in 1881.

Statham, F. Reginald: *South Africa as it is.* Demi octavo, 311 pages, published at London in 1897.

Statham, F. Reginald: *Paul Kruger and his Times.* Demi octavo, 312 pages, published at London in 1898.

Statute Law of the Cape of Good Hope, comprising the Placaats, Proclamations, and Ordinances enacted before the establishment of the Colonial Parliament and still wholly or in part in force. Royal octavo, 1,204 pages, published at Capetown in 1862.

Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope passed by the Parliament since the first session in 1854. Bound in large volumes.

Sternberg, Count: *My Experiences of the Boer War.* Demi octavo, 310 pages, published at London in 1901.

Stewart, James, D.D., M.D.: *Lovedale, South Africa, illustrated by fifty views from photographs.* Demi quarto, 110 pages, published at Edinburgh in 1894.

Stewart, James, D.D., M.D.: *Dawn in the Dark Continent, or Africa and its Missions.* Demi octavo, 400 pages, published at Edinburgh and London in 1903.

Strasheim, Rev. P., representative of the Dutch reformed church in Rhodesia and Gazaland: *In the Land of Cecil Rhodes.* Crown octavo, 122 pages, Capetown, 1896.

Streatfeild, Frank N.: *Kafirland: a ten months' Campaign.* Crown octavo, 320 pages, published at London in 1879.

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., L.L.D.: *Chronicles of Cape Commanders.* Royal octavo, 428 pages, published at Capetown in 1882. (Now included in Volume II of my *History and Ethnography of South Africa from 1505 to 1795.*)

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., L.L.D.: *South Africa.* (Story of the Nations Series). Crown octavo, 480 pages, published at London (fifth edition) in 1900.

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., L.L.D.: *Progress of South Africa* (Nineteenth Century Series). Demi octavo, 524 pages, published at London, Toronto, and Philadelphia in 1901.

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., LLD.: *The Portuguese in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 340 pages, published at London in 1806. (Now included in the first volume of my *History and Ethnography of South Africa from 1505 to 1795.*)

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., L.L.D.: *A Fragment of Basuto History.* Foolscap octavo, 188 pages, published at Capetown in 1886. Also *Boers and Bantu,* similar to the above, issued at the same time. (Both now included in my *History of South Africa since 1795.*

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., L.L.D. (compiled by): *Proclamations, Notices, and Regulations in force in the Native Territories of the Cape Colony on the 20th of July 1896.* Royal octavo, 354 pages, published at Capetown in 1896.

Theal, G. M., Litt.D., LL.D. The following were prepared by me for the government of the Cape Colony: *Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van 1486 tot 1814. Voor School-gebruik.* Demi octavo, 278 pages, Capetown, 1890. *Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika van 1486 tot 1835.* Demi octavo, 365 pages, 's Gravenhage, 1891. *Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika.* Demi octavo, 507 pages, 's Gravenhage, 1897. *A Short History of South Africa from 1486 to 1826 for the use of schools.* Demi octavo, 252 pages, Capetown, 1890. *Primer of South African History.* Small quarto, illustrated, 171 pages, The Hague, 1892. The same in Dutch also. *Primer of South African History.* Crown octavo, 139 pages, London, (third edition) 1896.

The Cape and its People and other Essays by South African Writers. Edited by Roderick Noble. Crown octavo, 408 pages, Capetown, 1896.

The Argus Annual and South African Directory. Yearly since 1875.

The Boer War 1899-1900, from the Ultimatum to the Occupation of Bloemfontein. Quarto, 316 pages, published at London in 1900.

The British case against the Boer Republics. A demi octavo pamphlet of 36 pages, published at London in 1901.

The Cape Illustrated Magazine. Published monthly at Capetown after September 1890.

The Memoirs of Paul Kruger, four times President of the South African Republic, told by himself. Two demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1902.

The Progress of His Royal Highness, Prince Alfred Ernest Albert through the Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, the Orange Free State, and Natal in the year 1860. An illustrated quarto volume of 187 pages, published at Capetown in 1861.

The South African Commercial Advertiser. The leading articles and some of the other contents issued in octavo volumes. I have those from 1837 to 1848.

The Transvaal Boers: a Historical Sketch, by Africanus. A crown octavo pamphlet of 158 pages, published at London in 1899.

Thomas, Rev. Thomas Morgan, of the London Missionary Society: *Eleven Years in Central South Africa.* Demi octavo, 418 pages; London, 1872.

Treaties entered into by Governors of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and other British Authorities with Native Chieftains and others beyond the Border of the Colony between the years 1803 and 1854. A royal octavo volume issued at Capetown in 1857.

Thomson, William Rodger: *Poems, Essays, and Sketches.* Edited by Mr. John Noble. A crown octavo volume, issued at Capetown in 1868.

Tindall, Rev. Henry: *Two Lectures on Great Namaqualand and its Inhabitants.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 47 pages, published at Capetown in 1856.

Torrend, J., S.J.: *A Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages.* Large quarto, 336 pages, published at London in 1891.

Three Months' Visitation by the Bishop of Capetown in the autumn of 1855. Foolscap octavo, 156 pages, published at London in 1856.

Trollope, Anthony: *South Africa.* Crown octavo, 389 pages, published at London in 1879.

Tromp, Theod. M.: *Herinneringen uit Zuid-Afrika ten tijde der annexatie van de Transvaal.* Crown octavo, 381 pages, published at Leiden in 1879.

Trotter, Mrs. A. P.: *Old Cape Colony, a Chronicle of her Men and Houses.* Demi octavo, 320 pages, published at London in 1903.

Tudhope, Hon. John: *The Voortrekkers of South Africa.* Demi octavo, 54 pages, published at Durban in 1891.

Tusschen Berg en Zee: een Verhaal uit den Strijd der Boeren in Natal van 1838-1841. Crown octavo, 207 pages, published at Amsterdam and Capetown.

de Villiers, John: *The Transvaal.* A crown octavo pamphlet of 88 pages, published at London in 1896.

Vijn, Cornelius: *Cetshwayo's Dutchman, being the Private Journal of a White Trader in Zululand during the British Invasion.* Translated from the Dutch and edited with preface and notes by the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Crown octavo, 213 pages, London, 1880.

Voigt, J. C., M.D.: *Fifty Years of the History of the Republic in South Africa.* (1795-1845). Two demi octavo volumes, published at London in 1899.

de Waal, D. C.: *With Rhodes in Mashonaland.* Crown octavo, 351 pages, published at London in 1896.

Ward, Harriet: *Past and Future Emigration, or the Book of the Cape.* Crown octavo, 379 pages, published at London in 1849.

Watson, Robert Spence: *The History of English Rule and Policy in South Africa.* A pamphlet of 32 pages, published at Newcastle in 1879.

Weale, J. P. Mansel: *The Truth about the Portuguese in Africa.* Crown octavo, 196 pages, London, 1891.

de Wet, Christiaan Rudolf: Three Years War (October 1899-June 1902). Demi octavo, 520 pages, published at London in 1902.

de Wet, J., LL.D.: *Beknopte Geschiedenis van de Nederduitsche Hervormde Kerk aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, sedert de stichting der Volkplanting in 1652 tot 1804.* Demi octavo, 138 pages, published at Capetown in 1888.

Whiteside, Rev. J.: *A new Geography of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 70 pages, published at Capetown in 1892.

Whiteside, Rev. J.: *A new School History of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 107 pages, published at Capetown in 1894.

Widdicombe, Rev. John, Rector of St. Saviour's, Thlotse Heights, and Canon of Bloemfontein: *Fourteen Years in Basutoland: a Sketch of African Mission Life.* Crown octavo, 310 pages, London, 1891.

Wilmot, Hon. A.: *Geography of South Africa for the use of higher classes in schools.* Foolscap octavo, 106 pages, published at Capetown in 1880.

Wilmot, Hon. A.: *The Story of the Expansion of Southern Africa.* Demi octavo, 290 pages, published at London in 1894.

Wilmot, Hon. A.: *Monomotapa (Rhodesia), its Monuments and its History from the most ancient times to the present century.* Crown octavo, 283 pages, published at London in 1896.

Wilmot, Hon. A.: *The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey, K.C.M.G., &c.* Demi octavo, 439 pages, London and Capetown, 1904.

Wills, W. A., and L. T. Collingridge: *The Downfall of Lobengula: the cause, history, and effect of the Matabeli War.* Quarto, 335 pages, published at London in 1894.

Winsloe, Colonel R. W. C.: *Siege of Potchefstroom.* A crown octavo pamphlet of 42 pages, published at London in 1883.

Wood, Joseph Garbett: *Through Matabeleland: the Record of a Ten Months' Trip in an Ox-wagon through Mashonaland and Matabeleland.* Crown octavo, 198 pages, London, 1893.

Worsfold, W. Basil: *A History of South Africa.* Foolscap octavo, 199 pages, published at London in 1891.

Worsfold, W. Basil: *South Africa, a study in colonial administration and development.* Crown octavo, 278 pages, published at London in 1895.

Worsfold, W. Basil: *The Story of South Africa.* Foolscap octavo, 175 pages. Published at London (after 1897), no date given.

Young, Robert: *Trophies from African Heathenism.* Crown octavo, 230 pages, published at London in 1892.

Zulu Izaga, that is Proverbs or out-of-the-way Sayings of the Zulus, collected, translated, and interpreted by a Zulu missionary. A demi octavo pamphlet of 31 pages, published at Durban and London in 1880.

I am also acquainted with the following volumes, though they are not in my collection:—

Amery, L. G. (editor): *The Times History of the War in South Africa.* Five large volumes published in London between 1900 and 1907, and more to follow

Andersson, Charles John: *The Okavango River: a Narrative of Travel, Exploration, and Adventure.* Demi octavo, 364 pages, published at London in 1861.

Blore, W. L.: *Statistics of the Cape Colony.* Demi octavo, 160 pages published at Capetown in 1871.

Bryant, Rev. Alfred T., missionary in Zululand and Natal: *A Zulu-English Dictionary, with notes on pronunciation, a revised orthography, and derivations and cognate words from many languages; including also a vocabulary of Ihlonipa words, tribal-names, etc., a synopsis of Zulu grammar, and a concise history of the Zulu people from the most ancient times.* A royal octavo volume of 889 pages, printed at the Marianhill mission press, Pinetown, Natal, and published at London and Natal in 1905. In this elaborate work, which can hardly be praised too highly, a few differences will be found in the details from the account given by me of the career of Tshaka, and a very great difference regarding the probable mode of the

entrance of the Bantu into Africa. Mr. Bryant believes with some others that this continent was once connected with the Malayan peninsula and the Eastern archipelago by continuous land, from which the negro and Bantu tribes migrated westward; that Lemuria, as this supposed land has been termed, afterwards subsided, and is now covered by the Indian ocean; and that the Bantu, thus separated from their eastern kindred, are true aborigines. I dare not express an opinion as to when black people first appeared in Africa, but I can see no reason why they should not have entered the continent at its north-eastern extremity. As to the Bantu being aborigines of Africa south of the Zambesi, I am certain they are not. I do not rely upon their traditions alone, though those of every tribe refer to a migration from the north; but to evidence which is indisputable that most of the tribes now in existence are immigrants of a very recent date. Further, the fact that Bushman rock paintings and quantities of stone implements showing no signs of age are found together with ancient relics in all parts of the country except a limited area in Mashonaland is of itself sufficient proof that the Bantu have not been here long, for they and Bushmen cannot exist side by side for any length of time. Some particulars in my early history of the Abatetwa, given on page 66 of the first volume of *History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi from 1505 to 1795*, are at variance with Mr. Bryant's genealogical tables, and he is more likely to be correct in this matter than I was. I gave my authority for what I wrote on this subject, and intimated that it was not to be thoroughly depended upon. Further, the principal differences between Mr. Bryant and myself are in the chronological order of events in the career of Tshaka. I had my information from a great number of sources, among which were many men who had taken part in the wars of devastation, for my inquiries were commenced among the Fingos in Kaffraria in 1861 and were continuous thereafter until 1896. I found the same difficulty then that Mr. Bryant has since experienced, that of reconciling different statements apparently of equal authority. But I was fortunately able by independent means to fix the dates of some of the principal events, so that my arrangement is as accurate as in the nature of things it can be made. After all, whether tribe A was destroyed before tribe B, or *vice versâ*, does not make much difference now, when it is certain that both were destroyed in the same year, though naturally one likes to be absolutely correct even in such a matter. I wish to speak with the greatest respect of this work of Mr. Bryant, which shows an enormous amount of research and labour, and I am pleased to find that his narrative of the Zulu wars and their origin is in all essential matters in agreement with my own.

Butler, Lieut.-General Sir William F., K.C.B.: *The Life of Sir Pomeroy Colley.* Demi octavo, 431 pages, published at London in 1899.

Cecil Rhodes: a Biography and Appreciation. By Imperialist. *With Personal Reminiscences.* By Dr. Jameson. Crown octavo, 413 pages, published at London in 1897.

Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904: General Report with Annexures. Foolscap folio, 772 pages, published at Capetown in 1905.

Davison, Charles F.: *The Case of the Boers in the Transvaal.* A demi octavo pamphlet of 30 pages, published at London in 1881.

Dormer, Francis J.: *Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland, a Plea for a New Departure.* Demi octavo, 244 pages, published at London in 1901.

Fletcher-Vane, Francis P.: *Pax Britannica in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 389 pages, published at London in 1905.

Fruin, Dr. Robert: *A Word from Holland on the Transvaal question.* An octavo pamphlet of 16 pages, published at Utrecht in 1881.

Garrett, F. E.: *In Afrikanderland and the land of Ophir.* Crown quarto, 96 pages, published at London in 1891.

Gooch, W. D.: *The Stone Age of South Africa.* Demi octavo, 60 pages, published at London in 1881.

Heusman, Howard: *A History of Rhodesia.* Crown octavo, 381 pages, published at Edinburgh and London in 1900.

Jeppe, Carl: *The Kaleidoscopic Transvaal.* Demi octavo, 266 pages, published at Capetown in 1906.

Leyds, W. J., LL.D.: *The first Annexation of the Transvaal.* Demi octavo, 378 pages, published at London in 1906.

Mackenzie, Anne (editor): *Mission Life among the Zulus, a Memoir of Henrietta, wife of the Rev. R. Robertson, S.P.G.* Crown octavo, 244 pages, published at London in 1875.

Maugham, R. C. F.: *Portuguese East Africa: the History, Scenery, and Great Game of Manica and Sofala.* Demi octavo, 340 pages, published at London in 1906.

South African Native Affairs Commission. Report, with Annexures and Appendices. Five thick foolscap folio volumes, published at Capetown in 1903 to 1905.

The late Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes: a Chronicle of the Funeral Ceremonies. A large quarto volume, published at Capetown in 1905.

Wirgman, Rev. A. Theodore, B.D., D.C.L.: *The History of the English Church and People in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 277 pages, published at London in 1895.

Young, Robert B., M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.G.S., Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at the Transvaal University College, Johannesburg: *The Life and Works of George William Stow, South African Geologist.* Crown octavo, 123 pages, London and Capetown, 1908.

Younghusband, Captain Francis, C.I.E.: *South Africa of To-day.* Demi octavo, 177 pages, published at London in 1898.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.

943

Maçoudi in his great work describes the country of Sofala as occupied by Bantu.

1485

The Portuguese explorer Diogo Cam reaches Cape Cross, where he erects a pillar.

1487

Bartholomeu Dias passes the Cape of Good Hope and reaches the mouth of the Infante river, probably the one now termed the Fish.

1498

Vasco da Gama, having sailed round South Africa, reaches Calicut in India.

1503

Table Bay is first visited by a European ship (under Antonio de Saldanha).

1505

Occupation of Sofala by the Portuguese, the beginning of European settlement in Africa south of the Zambesi.

1507

A French corsair passes the Cape of Good Hope.

1510

Slaughter by Hottentots on the shore of Table Bay of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, recently viceroy of India, with eleven officers of high rank and fifty-three other Portuguese.

1531

Establishment by the Portuguese of a trading outpost at Sena on the Zambesi.

1544

Examination of Delagoa Bay by Lourenço Marques, and commencement of occasional visits to that place by the Portuguese for purposes of trade.

1560

Arrival in South Africa of the first missionaries of the Company of Jesus.

1569-1575

Disastrous expedition under Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem to obtain possession of gold and silver mines in South Africa.

1570

Appearance on the left bank of the Zambesi of the advance guard of an immense horde of Bantu invaders from the north.

1572

Erection of Fort São Marçal at Sena by Francisco Barreto.

1580

Sir Francis Drake passes the Cape of Good Hope on his passage round the world.

Commencement of the Dominican missions in South Africa.

1580-1593

Dreadful ravages in the valley of the Zambesi committed by the horde of Bantu invaders from the north. The tribes called the Abambo, connected with this horde, make their way to the south-eastern coast and settle in Natal and Zululand.

1591

English ships first touch at a South African port.

1593

Wreck of the *Santo Alberto* a short distance west of the mouth of the Umtata river, and journey of her crew to Delagoa Bay.

1595

Dutch ships first visit South Africa on the passage to India.

1601

Table, Mossel, Flesh, and Fish bays receive from the Dutch their present names.

1602

Formation of the Dutch East India Company.

1609-1626

Fruitless search by the Portuguese for silver mines south of the Zambesi.

1629

First election of a monomotapa by the Portuguese, being the commencement of the disintegration of the largest of the Makalanga tribes.

1631

First election of a tshikanga by the Portuguese.

1644

Commencement of the slave trade between South-Eastern Africa and Brazil.

1652

Refreshment station founded in Table Valley by the Dutch East India Company.

1655

Introduction of the vine into the Cape settlement.

1657

First occupation of land by farmers in the Cape settlement.

1659-1660

First war between Cape colonists and Hottentots.

1668

Commencement of a struggle of two centuries duration between the European immigrants and the aboriginal Bushmen.

1672

Purchase of territory by the Dutch East India Company from Hottentot captains.

1673-1677

Second war between Cape colonists and Hottentots.

1679

Occupation of Stellenbosch by Dutch colonists.

1685

Discovery of copper mines in Little Namaqualand.

1686

Settlement of Drakenstein by Dutch colonists.

1688

Arrival of Huguenot settlers at the Cape.

1700

Occupation of the Tulbagh basin by Cape colonists.

1713

First outbreak of small-pox in the Cape settlement, accompanied by great destruction of Hottentots.

1721-1730

Undisturbed possession of Delagoa Bay by the Dutch East India Company.

1730

Commencement of the permanent occupation of Inhambane by the Portuguese.

1742

First use of Simon's Bay as a winter port.

1746

Foundation of the village of Swellendam.

1755

Second destructive outbreak of small-pox in the Cape Colony.

1760

Expulsion of the Jesuits from South-Eastern Africa.

1775

Removal of the Dominicans from South-Eastern Africa.

1779-1781

First war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1780

Adoption of the Fish river as the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony.

1781

Capture by an English fleet of a number of richly laden Dutch ships in Saldanha Bay.

1786

Foundation of the village of Graaff-Reinet.

1787

Commencement of the permanent occupation of Lourenço Marques by the Portuguese.

1789-1793

Second war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1792

Commencement of the Moravian missions in South Africa.

1795

Rebellion of the farmers of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam against the Dutch East India Company.

Conquest of the Cape Colony by a British force.

1796

Surrender of nine Dutch ships of war in Saldanha Bay to an English fleet.

1799

Commencement of the London Society's missions in South Africa.

1799-1803

Third war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1803

Restoration of the Cape Colony to Holland.

1804

Foundation of the village of Uitenhage.

1806

Second conquest of the Cape Colony by Great Britain.

1809

Abolition of Hottentot chieftainship in the Cape Colony.

1812

Fourth war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

Foundation of Grahamstown.

1814

Formal cession of the Cape Colony to Great Britain by the prince sovereign of the Netherlands.

1818-1819

Fifth war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1820

Arrival in the Cape Colony of a large body of British settlers.

1821-1828

Awfully destructive wars among the Bantu of South Africa, usually known as the wars of Tshaka.

1824

Opening for use of the first lighthouse on the South African coast.

Occupation of Thaba Bosigo by Moshesh, the commencement of the formation of the present Basuto tribe.

Settlement of several English adventurers at Port Natal.

1825

Establishment of a council to assist the governor of the Cape Colony.

Redemption of the paper money of the Cape Colony at the rate of one shilling and sixpence for a rixdollar.

First appearance of a steamship in Table Bay.

1828

Introduction in the Cape Colony of the present system of courts of justice.

Issue of the fiftieth ordinance, placing all free coloured people in the Cape Colony on a political level with Europeans.

1829

Issue of an ordinance securing the freedom of the press in the Cape Colony.

Opening of the South African college in Capetown.

1830

Settlement of the Matabele in the Marikwa valley.

1833

Extermination of the Portuguese at Lourenço Marques by the Matshangana.

1834

Establishment of a nominated legislative council in the Cape Colony.

Emancipation of the slaves in the Cape Colony.

Destruction of the Portuguese settlement at Inhambane by the Matshangana.

1834-1835

Sixth war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1835

Foundation of the town of Durban.

1836

Commencement of a great emigration of farmers from the Cape Colony.

Massacre of a number of emigrant farmers by the Matabele.

Destruction of Sofala by the Matshangana.

1837

Introduction of municipal institutions in the Cape Colony.

Opening of the first bank unconnected with the government in the Cape Colony.

Reoccupation of Delagoa Bay by the Portuguese.

Defeat of the Matabele by the emigrant farmers at Mosega and on the Marikwa, and flight of the whole Matabele tribe to the territory north of the Limpopo.

Foundation of the village of Winburg.

1838

Dreadful massacres of emigrant farmers by the Zulus.

Defeat by the Zulus of a commando of farmers under Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys and of an army of Natal blacks led by Englishmen.

Foundation of the town of Potchefstroom.

16 December. Crushing defeat of the Zulus on the Blood river by a commando under Andries Pretorius.

1839

Foundation of the city of Pietermaritzburg.

1840

Defeat of Dingan by rebels and installation by the emigrant farmers of Panda as chief of the Zulus in vassalage to them.

1840-1841

Establishment of numerous high schools in the Cape Colony.

1842

Occupation of Port Natal by a British force.

Conflict with the emigrant farmers and siege of the British camp.

Relief of the British garrison.

1843

Submission of the volksraad of Natal to the British government.

Creation of Griqua and Basuto treaty states.

1844

Incorporation of Natal in the British dominions as a dependency of the Cape Colony.

Creation of a Pondo treaty state.

1846-1847

Seventh war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe assisted by the Emigrant Tembus.

1846-1851

Introduction by the government of over four thousand British immigrants into the Cape Colony.

1847

Extension of the northern boundary of the Cape Colony to the Orange river, and of the eastern boundary to the Keiskama, Tyumie, Klipplaats, Zwart Kei, Klaas Smit's, and Kraai rivers.

Incorporation in the British dominions of the territory between the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony and the Kei river, under the name British Kaffraria.

Foundation of the town of East London.

Commencement of sugar planting in Natal.

1848

Introduction of a nominated legislative council in Natal.

Abolition of the Griqua and Basuto treaty states by Sir Harry Smith.

Inclusion of the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers in the British dominions, under the title of the Orange River Sovereignty.

Defeat of the disaffected emigrant farmers by Sir Harry Smith at Boomplaats.

1848-1850

Successful opposition of the Cape colonists to the introduction of convicts from Great Britain.

1849

Delimitation of the reserves for Bantu and other coloured people between the Orange and Vaal rivers.

1849-1851

Settlement of four thousand five hundred British immigrants in Natal.

1850-1853

Eighth war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe assisted by the Emigrant Tembus and many Hottentots.

1851

Defeat of Major Donovan at Viervoet.

1852

Acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal river.

Success of the Basuto in the battle of Berea, and retirement of Sir George Cathcart with the British troops from the Orange River Sovereignty.

Defeat of Setsheli's Bakwena near Kolobeng by a commando of emigrant farmers.

Commencement of copper mining in Little Namaqualand.

Wreck of the steam transport *Birkenhead.*

1853

Grant by Great Britain of a very liberal constitution to the Cape Colony.

Foundation of Queenstown in territory taken from the Emigrant Tembus.

1854

Abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty by Great Britain, and establishment of the Orange Free State.

First meeting of the Cape parliament.

Introduction of lung sickness among horned cattle in South Africa.

Destruction of the Batlou at Makapan's Poort by the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal river.

1855

Foundation of the town of Pretoria.

1856

Grant of a constitution by Great Britain to Natal, under which a legislative council of twelve elected and four official members is created.

Great battle on the Tugela between Ketshwayo and Umbulazi, and entire destruction of the latter and his adherents.

Commencement of Indian immigration into Natal.

1856-1857

Destruction of all their cattle and corn by the Xosa and part of the Tembu tribe, followed by terrible suffering and loss of life from starvation.

1856-1861

Immigration into South Africa of a considerable number of children from Holland.

1857

Settlement in British Kaffraria of over two thousand men of the British German legion.

Commencement of the Union Steamship Company's mail service between England and South Africa.

Adoption of a constitution for the South African Republic by some of the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal.

Secession of Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg from the South African Republic.

Unsuccessful attempt of the South African Republic to coerce the Orange Free State into union.

1858

First war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe.

Incorporation of Zoutpansberg in the South African Republic.

1858-1859

Settlement in British Kaffraria of two thousand three hundred German agricultural immigrants.

1858-1862

Introduction into the Cape Colony by means of state aid of several thousand British immigrants.

1859

Occupation of waste land in British Kaffraria by European farmers.

Commencement of the construction of railways in the Cape Colony.

Introduction of the oïdium into the vineyards of the Cape Colony.

Federation of the different communities in South Africa disapproved by the imperial government, and recall of Sir George Grey for advocating it.

1859-1860

Introduction of a considerable number of German agricultural immigrants into the Cape Colony.

1860

Commencement of the construction of harbour works in Table Bay.

Union of the republic of Lydenburg with the South African Republic.

1860-1864

Civil strife in the South African Republic.

1861

Purchase of Griqua territory by the Orange Free State, and removal of Adam Kok and his people.

1863

Settlement in Griqualand East of Adam Kok's people.

1863-1870

The Herero war of independence.

1864

Abandonment by the British government of the vacant territory between the river Kei and Natal.

Completion of the line of electric telegraph between Capetown and East London.

1865

Annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.

Annexation to Natal of the territory between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers.

Extermination of the Makololo tribe.

1865-1866

Second war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe.

1865-1868

War between the South African Republic and the Bavenda tribes.

1867

Discovery of diamonds in South Africa.

Discovery by Carl Mauch of ancient gold mines north of the Limpopo.

1867-1868

Third war between the Orange Free State and the Basuto tribe.

1868

Commencement of modern gold mining in South Africa.

Adoption of the Basuto tribe as British subjects.

1869

War with the Koranas on the northern border of the Cape Colony.

Destructive fire in the Knysna, Humansdorp, and Uitenhage districts.

1870

Opening of the docks in Table Bay.

1871

Annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony.

Arbitration at Bloemhof resulting in the Keate award.

Opening of the Kimberley diamond mine.

Annexation of the territory termed Griqualand West to the British dominions.

First treaty between Portugal and the South African Republic.

1872

Introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony.

Commencement of the construction of railways in the eastern part of the Cape Colony.

Commencement of the Ethiopian movement in South Africa.

1873

Establishment of Griqualand West as a crown colony.

Rebellion of Langalibalele and the Hlubis in Natal.

1874

Division of the Cape Colony into seven circles instead of two provinces for the purpose of electing members of the legislative council.

1875

Southern boundary of Portuguese East Africa fixed by decision of Marshal Macmahon.

Cessation of state support of clergymen in the Cape Colony.

1877

Incorporation of the South African Republic in the British dominions.

1877-1878

Ninth war between the Cape Colony and the Xosa tribe.

1879

Annexation to the Cape Colony of Griqualand East, Fingoland, and the district of Idutywa.

Conquest of Zululand by British forces.

1880

Annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony.

1880-1881

War between the Cape Colony and the Basuto tribe.

Insurrection of many clans in Tembuland and Griqualand East.

1881

Partial independence restored to the South African Republic.

1884

Annexation to the Cape Colony of Port St. John's and Walfish Bay.

Assumption by Germany of a protectorate of Great Namaqualand and Hereroland, excepting only Walfish Bay and the Guano islands off the coast.

Nearly perfect independence recovered by the South African Republic.

1885

Annexation to the Cape Colony of Tembuland and the districts of Kentani and Willowvale.

Incorporation of the territory south of the Molopo river in the British dominions under the name of British Betshuanaland.

1886

Annexation to the Cape Colony of the district of Mount Ayliff.

Opening of extensive gold fields in the South African Republic.

1887

Incorporation of Zululand in the British dominions.

1889

Formation of the British South Africa Chartered Company.

1890

Occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Chartered Company.

1891

Boundary line between the British and Portuguese possessions in South Africa fixed by treaty.

Formation of the Chartered Mozambique Company.

1893

Introduction of responsible government in Natal.

Defeat of the Matabele and occupation af Matabeleland by the British South Africa Company.

1894

Annexation of Pondoland to the Cape Colony.

1895

Completion of a railway from Capetown to Lourenço Marques with numerous connecting lines.

Annexation of British Betshuanaland to the Cape Colony.

British protectorate over Amatongaland proclaimed.

NOTES ON THE BUSHMEN AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

If one of the ancient palæolithic cave dwellers of Europe could make his appearance there again in flesh and blood, what an interest would be taken in him! He would be regarded as being able to throw a flood of light upon the early existence of man, and from all sides students and members of scientific societies would gather round him to learn all that he could teach. In point of fact he could tell them nothing, even if they could understand his speech. He could not explain the dim religious thoughts, or rather apprehensions of fear from something vague outside himself, that passed through his brain, nor give reliable information of any kind upon the past of his race, where they came from, or when or how they had their origin. His conversation would be limited to narratives of the game he had killed, or the girl he had won by sending an arrow through a rival's heart as he lay sleeping, or how his brother had been bewitched by an enemy and had died, or how somebody had been turned into a wild animal and was still spell-bound and only to be seen in his proper form by those whose eyes had been cleansed by charms.

Only in the evening, when he was surfeited with the flesh of some huge animal he had slain, and when weary of the dance he reclined by the fire and admired the patterns made with ochre and soot and grease on his otherwise naked body, he would tell some story of insects or birds or beasts that he had heard from his mother when he was a child, and, though he did not know this, had really been as it were stereotyped long centuries before, and was even in those ancient days told in almost identically the same words by people living far away towards the morning dawn and others as far away towards the setting sun. The students and savants would listen, and wonder how a full grown man, though a pigmy, with a fairly well shaped head but for the great prognathism of the jaws, could delight in such absurd stories and really believe in the truth of many of them. They would soon realise that he could tell them nothing of what they wanted to know, that though he was not an idiot, his reasoning power and his credulity were those of a little child. They would observe that his passions were those of an adult, that his physical strength was great, that he could distinguish objects clearly at a distance that they could only see with a good field-glass, that he could outrun with ease the fleetest of their athletes, and yet that his thoughts were no more lofty than those of the dullest peasant's infant boy.

But the palæolithic savage restored to life, though he could *tell* nothing of importance concerning the history or origin or religion of his race, would still be an object of exceeding interest. He could be studied as a workman engaged in the manufacture of timepieces studies the mechanism of a clock, and a very great deal relating to the history of man could be learned in this manner from him. He could not explain the structure of his language, but his words, or the uncouth sounds that issued from his throat and teeth and lips which correspond to words among civilised men, could be taken down and analysed, their meaning could be gradually gathered, the grammatical form in which they were put together to represent ideas could be solved, and a link in the chain of language from its origin to that of the most cultured individual of the present day would be obtained. For this painted savage, disgusting in his habits, almost hideous in his appearance, represented a stage of human existence through which our own ancestors must at one time have passed. That time may have been exceedingly remote, but we cannot get rid of the fact that this repulsive being, who ate and enjoyed the taste of carrion, and who never cleansed even the intestine of an animal before he devoured it, was a blood relative of our own, and that we ought to take greater interest in him than in any animal of the brute creation.

The European colonists in South Africa have had the palæolithic man, just as he roamed over Europe in times long preceding the dawn of history, living in flesh and blood before their eyes. They were indeed far more familiar with his presence than they desired to be, for he was not at all what might be termed a respectable neighbour. That he was identical with the dwarfish cave dwellers of Europe, no one who has examined the splendid collection of ancient stone implements in the anthropological department of the museum in Brussels and compared those specimens of primitive man's industry and skill with similar collections of Bushman tools and implements in South Africa, and who has further compared the etchings of animals on bones found in Europe with the etchings of animals on rocks found in South Africa, of which there is now an excellent collection in the museum in Capetown, can for a moment doubt. In Europe there were at least two distinct races of palæolithic man. One was dwarfish in size and lived in caves, and was almost to a certainty very closely allied to African Bushmen. That race may have spread out from some unknown region in Asia, and while one swarm entered what is now Europe another swarm passed into the continent of Africa. The section in Europe at an early age was destroyed by more powerful invaders: the section in Africa, not entirely destroyed in the same way even in the central region, where it took refuge in the depths of immense forests, remained intact in a very large portion of the continent south of the Zambesi until long after the arrival of the first European settlers.

It was an "unimprovable race," incapable of adopting the habits of other people much higher in culture than itself, though it could amalga-

mate with those only slightly in advance. Before the arrival of the Hottentots and Bantu in parts of South Africa, it was not in contact with any other branches of the human species, and hence it remained at its own low level, the level of palæolithic man in Europe, without making much advance of any kind during the long long time it occupied the secluded extremity of the continent. When the Europeans arrived therefore an opportunity was afforded of becoming intimately acquainted with the condition and language of one of the lowest, if not the very lowest, of all the races on the face of the earth, and of making the information gained known to the civilised part of mankind.

That opportunity was not taken advantage of. The white settlers were entirely occupied with making a living, and regarded the Bushmen simply as robbers, just as the Hottentots and Bantu did. Then down to our own times the savage wanderers were generally considered to be outcast Hottentots, even Dr. Bleek himself when he began his researches believing that they had separated from a common ancestral stock only a few centuries back. There were exceptions to this statement, notably Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, but they were few in number. Further, there were no men of sufficient education and inclination wealthy enough to afford the time requisite to conduct the necessary researches. When at length, under the auspices of the late Sir Bartle Frere, a philosophical association came into existence, its pecuniary resources were too limited to render any aid, even in the matter of printing, and it must be added that its sympathy did not extend to this question. In the words of its secretary addressed to the writer of these volumes, regarding the publication of some documents upon the first intercourse of Europeans and Bushmen, "the subject was too large to engage its support, and was one that ought properly to be undertaken by the government." For the student of any subject that does not promise pecuniary benefit, a frailer reed to lean upon for continuous assistance than a colonial administration under responsible government can hardly be found. What one prime minister regards as of high importance his successor may treat with the utmost disdain,* and just when the preliminary work has been done and encouragement and assistance are most needed, the man who rests his hopes and expectations upon support from the government is liable to see, instead of that, money expended in preventing him from making any further advance.

These are the reasons why long and close research in any department of science has hitherto been attended with such difficulty in South Africa that very few individuals indeed have devoted themselves to it. The most prominent of these individuals was the late Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, a man of great learning, patience, and industry, who in 1862 received the appointment of custodian of the Grey Library in Capetown. In that

*As witness Dr. Jameson's treatment of researches initiated by the late Mr. C. J. Rhodes. This may be regarded as an extreme case, but others might be mentioned.

capacity he had much to do, but he found time out of office hours to carry on the philological studies for which he had been specially trained, and in which pursuit he was an enthusiast, though his judgment was clear and even cold. At first his only opportunity of acquiring any acquaintance with the Bushman language was by visiting Robben Island and picking up a few words and short phrases from prisoners there, but after some years the government was liberal enough to place from time to time a number of Bushman families under his charge, mostly the near relatives of men who were prisoners at the breakwater convict station; and to his surprise Dr. Bleek found that he was in contact, not with degraded Hottentots or even with people closely allied to Hottentots, but with representatives of a truly primitive race. From that moment he devoted his attention almost entirely to the study of the habits, folklore, and particularly the language of the Bushmen, for their race was almost extinct, and he realised that in a very few years such researches would be no longer possible. In this study he was warmly assisted by his sister-in-law, Miss L. C. Lloyd, who was fortunate in possessing a very sharp ear, and who was soon able to distinguish the different clicks, smacking of the lips, and guttural sounds that form so large a portion of Bushman speech.

A mass of material was collected, but was not ready for publication when, to the great loss of students throughout the world, the death of Dr. Bleek on the 17th of August 1875 put an end to his devoted and most useful labour. His *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* is, and must always remain, a standard work, though it too was left incomplete and contains very little upon the Bushman tongue.

Miss L. C. Lloyd was then engaged to take charge of the Grey Library until a competent successor to Dr. Bleek could be obtained, and she resolved to continue the Bushman researches out of office hours and gather as much material as she could, before arranging for publication. In all South Africa there was no one so well qualified for the task as she. Not a few European children on farms in the interior had in earlier times learned to utter the strange sounds which constitute Bushman speech, and could converse freely with the savages, but none of these had ever been able to commit their knowledge to writing and it had died with them. Miss Lloyd was acquainted with two dialects, was accustomed to take down the sentences as they came from the lips of the speakers and was therefore familiar with the various symbols used to represent the different sounds, and had the great advantage of having been trained to the work by so able a teacher as her deceased brother-in-law. While she was proceeding with her task with all possible care and diligence, she was informed that the government had appointed a man of very erratic habits custodian of the Grey Library, with the title of Colonial Philologist; but she was assisted to continue her Bushman researches some years longer.

In addition to what was in manuscript at the time of Dr. Bleek's death, she collected a mass of materials upon the mythology, legends, fables,

poetry, history, customs, and superstitions of the Bushmen, in two dialects, covering 5,767 half pages of small quarto books, and then proceeded to Europe with her papers with a view of obtaining competent philological assistance in preparing the work of her brother-in-law and herself for the press. Much of it she had already translated into English. But most unfortunately her health broke down so completely that it was only as a confirmed invalid that she was able to write a little, and so the result of all the labour of her brother-in-law and herself is as yet unavailable for the use of others.

The Colonial Philologist did very little towards increasing the knowledge of the world concerning the Bushmen, and after a short time he resigned his office to become manager of a wine farm. No successor was appointed, and now the time has nearly or quite gone by for the study of Bushman speech. The few individuals of the race that remain have either adopted the language of their neighbours, as those in Central Africa seem to have done, or they have been compelled to use so many foreign words and phrases that the idiom is too corrupt to be of any scientific value as far as the vocabulary goes.

A knowledge of the mode of putting words together to express ideas, or the grammatical structure, is however of even greater importance than a knowledge of the words themselves used singly, and it may still be possible to obtain that. What an immense advantage it would be to have a single page of Bushman phrases, with English translations attached to them! At present students have not even that.

This is the general state of knowledge at the present time regarding the language of palæolithic man in South Africa, but some information can be gathered from the writings of travellers, and especially from articles by Dr. Bleek in different magazines not now accessible without a good deal of search.

The first that may be mentioned in this connection is Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, who had a good opportunity in 1804 and 1805 to pick up information from Bushmen of the great plain south of the Orange river. He made use of a competent interpreter, and was well qualified for the work. He, however, used no symbols except figures to denote the clicks, and did not distinguish the differences between several of these sounds. He gives a list of words in Korana and in Bushman, showing the great difference between the two vocabularies. This is what he says:

"Among all the Hottentot dialects, none is so rough and wild, and differs so much from the rest, as that of the Bosjesmans; so that it is scarcely understood by any of the other tribes. It is, in the first place, much poorer in sounds: many sounds, which may be expressed by our letters, in the Gonaaqua, the Coran, and the Namaaqua languages, are either totally wanting among them, or very rarely occur. Pure vowels are seldom to be heard; but the cluck and the diphthongs are much more frequent. The cluck, in particular, seems the most completely at home among them: scarcely a word occurs without it. The gurgling in the throat

is much deeper, and hence ensue the most disagreeable nasal tones. The speech ends with a sort of singing sound, which dies away by degrees, and is often some seconds before it wholly ceases."

VOCABULARY.

	Coran	*Bushman*
One	t' [1]ko-ei	t' [1]ko-ai
Two	t' [1]koam	t' [2]kuh
Three	t' [1]norra	They are entirely
Four	hakka	destitute of the other numerals.
A man	köhn	t' [1]kubi
The head	minnong	t' [1]naa
The eye	muhm	t' [1]saguh
The nose	t' [1]geub	t' [1]nuhntu
The mouth	t' [2]kchamma	tub
The tongue	tamma	t' [1]inn
The leg	t' [2]nuh	t' [2]koah
The foot	t' [1]keib	t' [2]noah
Father	aboob	oa
Mother	eijoos	choa
Brother	t' [2]kaam	t' [2]kang
A child	t' [1]kob	t' [1]kăt' [1]koang
A bow	kehaab	t' [2]hau
An arrow	t' [3]koab	t' [1]gnoa
A lion	chamma	t' [3]kaang
A dog	arrieb m. arries f.	t' [1]kŏing
An eland	t' [2]kaunam	t' [1]sah
A springbuck	t' huuns	oai
A bird	t' [3]karinde	t' [3]kanni
The sun	sorŏhb	t' [2]koăra
The moon	t' [1]khaam	t' [2]kaukaruh
Fire	t' [3]aib	t' [3]jĭĭ
Water	t' [1]kamma	t' [1]kohaa
A tree	heikoa	t' [1]huh
Day	sorŏkoa	t' [1]gaa
Night	t' [2]kaib	t' [2]kaankuh
Flesh	t' [2]koob	aa
Honey	dariings	t' [2]kaau
Warm	t' [2]koang	tant' [3]jih
Cold	t' [2]goaub	tissariti
White	t' [2]chatih	t' [3]ko-eita
I	tire	ää or mm
Thou	saats	aa
You	sakaan	ü-ĭ
To eat	uhng	haa

	Coran	*Bushman*
To sleep	t' ²kchom ...	t' ²ko-ing
To stand	maa	t' ²khee
To run	t' ¹ku-üh ...	t' ²koachi
Whence come you?	Hamt' ²kuhb saat goacha ...	Achang t' ³aintidi
What is your name?	Ham-ti sa unna	Achang aa taide
I am thirsty	t' ²kaare t' ²kang	Mm t' ¹koang ¹keunja
Give me meat	t' ²koob maa ...	Ake aa

The above is only a small part of the vocabulary given by Dr. Lichtenstein, but it would serve no useful purpose to copy the remainder. Though showing the difference in words between a Hottentot and a Bushman dialect, it does not afford the means for ascertaining the structure of either language.

The reverend Thomas Arbousset, of the French mission in Basuto-land, has also given a vocabulary, seven pages in length, but unfortunately he confuses Hottentots with Bushmen, and his list contains many words adopted even from Sesuto. It was prepared about the year 1837. In his vocabulary he does not attempt to introduce any symbols whatever to represent the clicks, so that to the philological student it is valueless. His remarks upon the language, as he heard it spoken, are, however, to the point. He says:

"Their language is harsh, broken, full of monosyllables, which are uttered with strong aspirations from the chest, and a guttural articulation as disagreeable as it is difficult. × × × It is not without reason that it has been said of them that they cluck like turkeys. × × × The clucks are especially found at the recurrence of a letter which is of harsh guttural pronunciation. × × × As this horrible aspiration recurs incessantly in the mouth of the Bushmen, one is inclined to say that they bark rather than speak."

Some other extracts from the writings of missionaries and travellers might be given, but they would convey no greater knowledge of the Bushman language than the above, which was the highest mark reached when the late Dr. Bleek commenced his labours. In 1857, after he had been about two years in South Africa, he wrote as follows in an article in the *Cape Monthly Magazine:*

"It is curious to notice that the Bushman tongue apparently agrees most, of all the Hottentot dialects, with that of the Cape, and next to it, with that of the Korannas, — the latter being, in many respects, the connecting link between the Cape dialect and that of the Namaquas, in which the fullest and most original form of the Hottentot language has been preserved. But we must not forget here, that what materials for a knowledge of the Bushman tongue are at hand are as yet limited to vocabularies of one dialect, viz. that of the district of the Winterveldt,

from the vicinity of Colesberg and Burghersdorp. Other Bushman dialects may be widely different, nor is it impossible that many so-called Bushmen are of quite different origin. However this may be, these Bushmen from the Winterveldt have decidedly been distinct from the Hottentots, as a nation, for many centuries; for their language presents more than dialectical differences from that of the Hottentots. There are, indeed, many Bushman words similar to those in use among the Hottentots, —and in the general features of their structure both languages agree together. But the grammatical forms which my vocabularies of the Bushman tongue contain are peculiar, — and also the construction of sentences appears to be different from that of the Hottentot language."

Before 1869 a great stride forward was made, for in *The Cape and its People*, published in that year, appeared an article from Dr. Bleek's pen dealing with the Bushman language from a scientific point of view, and which is of such value that a large portion of it must be given here. He says:

"The additional information which I have been able to collect (unsatisfactory as it is in extent) has impressed upon my mind this truth, that the Bushmen have been separate from their neighbours, the Hottentots, for at least many thousands of years. × × × The task of taking down as exactly as possible the sounds of this language was, of course, a great difficulty, for as many as six different clicks, formed either by the tongue or the lips, can at the least be distinguished here. When endeavouring to give the right mark for each click, I have no doubt frequently erred, as my ear is not very acute nor accustomed to distinguish these sounds; but as the clicks and other different sounds are not contained in the grammatical portions of the words, my observations on the structure of the language are not affected by this deficiency.

"To show that the Bushman language, as far as we are acquainted with it, is entirely different from the other tongues of South Africa, we will briefly glance at the structure of them all. The South African languages, with the exception of the Bushman, all belong to one of two families. One of these great families of language is that called the Bantu, which contains Kafir, Setshuana, etc. × × The other family—that of sex-denoting languages — is represented in South Africa by one member only, the Hottentot, the dialects of which do not differ essentially from each other.

"The Hottentot and Bantu languages have one very essential feature of their structure in common. In both, as a rule, each noun originally consists of two portions, one of which we will call the stem, and the other the representative element. The latter is a part of the noun which is also used to represent the whole noun, and in this manner either appears as a pronoun, or combines with other parts of speech, which are thereby referred to the noun. For example × × ×.

"These examples are sufficient to show the peculiar structure of the Zulu language, in which the nouns are divided into thirteen classes, by

being formed with thirteen distinct prefixes, which are also used to represent their respective nouns. The structure of all South African languages, excepting Hottentot and Bushman, is essentially the same as that of Kafir and Zulu, with regard to this concord and the classification of the nouns. The Hottentot language also possesses the same method of representing a whole noun by one of its parts; but in Hottentot the representative portion is not at the beginning of the noun (as prefix), but at the end (as suffix). Thus × × × ×.

"There are in this manner eight different representative elements in Hottentot, as there are thirteen in Kafir, and sixteen in some of the languages akin to Kafir. × × × We have not been able to discover any trace in Bushman of such a system of representation of the nouns; and we cannot but conclude that it does not exist in this language. This may be explained in two different ways. Either the Bushman language never possessed the faculty of thus representing a noun by one of its parts, or, at least, had not a regular set of representative elements or pronouns, and has not developed a classification of the nouns dependent upon their forms of concord: If so (and there is no certain proof against such an assumption), the Bushman would belong to a very low order of language,—a stage in which no true pronouns (*i.e.* representatives of the nouns) were developed. But it may also be that Bushman, like many other languages descended from those in which the nouns were originally divided on the basis of this system of representing a noun by one of its parts, has lost this characteristic entirely. × × × It may have descended from a language possessing a rich system of concords based upon the representation of each noun by one of its parts. Such a system may have dwindled away (a process of which we have so many examples), and all traces of its existence may thus have disappeared. This is possible,—but *primâ facie* not so probable as the reverse proposition, that the Bushman language belongs to a lower stage of development, in which neither true pronouns, nor grammatical classes (or genders) of nouns, had any existence.

"The only instances which I have met with of anything like forms of concord in Bushman are the adjectives *small* and *large*, which, in this language, have different forms for the singular and plural respectively. Thus |*eri* is the singular of the adjective indicating small, and |*ĕn* the plural; ‡*uiya* is the singular for the word for large, and ‡*uita* the plural; ||kuken e !oai gan |eri *one veldschoen is small*, ||ku||ku e !u gan |ĕn *the two veldschoens are small*, ||kuka gan ||u ‡uiya *the veldschoen is large*, ||ku||ku e !u gan ||u ‡uita *the two veldschoens are large*, ‡nūî yan ‡uiya *the seacow is large*, ‡nūî e ‡oaya yan ||u ‡uita *the many seacows are large*. × × × We should lay more stress upon this grammatical peculiarity, and conclude that we could discern in it the remnant of a former system of concords, if it were not that, as yet, it has only been observed in the sentences taken down from the mouth of one informant, who was not a pure Bushman. Yet it is difficult to see how he could have introduced

this grammatical feature into the language, as the Hottentot construction is by no means identical in this instance.

"Many nouns in Bushman vary in their terminations according to their position or use. Thus veldschoen may be ǁkuki, ǁkuka, or ǁkuken. Our knowledge of this language is not yet sufficiently advanced to enable us to discern the exact value of these endings; but it does not appear that they have anything to do with the concord, or even clearly with the distinction of singular and plural. × × × × As the Bushman nouns do not appear to possess any representative parts, the singular and plural cannot, of course, be distinguished by the mutual correspondence of such parts. The mode in which singular and plural are distinguished from each other in the Bushman language is far more primitive, viz. by reduplication of the first portion of each noun. Thus ǀnũm is *beard*, and ǀnũ ǀnũm *beards*, ǁnũ *ear*, ǁnũ‖nũntu *ears*, ǁnõa *foot*, ǁnõa‖nõa *feet*, tũ *mouth*, tũtũ *mouths*, ǁkun *wing*, ǁko‖kun *wings*, ku *arm*, kukun *arms*, ǂkoa *leg*, ǂkoaǂkoaken *legs*. In some of the latter nouns it appears as if the ending n, en, or ken were, besides the reduplication, a distinguishing mark of the plural; but as this ending sometimes certainly also occurs in the singular, it would be rash to consider it as the indicator of the plural. The reduplication, on the contrary, has as yet only been observed in the plural of nouns. This particular employment of the process of reduplication for the purpose of forming plurals is, as far as I am aware, peculiar to the Bushman language. × × × ×

"Next to the plural, the feature as yet most clearly perceived with regard to Bushman nouns is the formation of the genitive. × × × × In Bushman the genitive particle is suffixed to the noun, but as there is no sort of concord by which the noun in the genitive can be referred by a representative element to the noun which it defines, the noun in the genitive can only precede the other noun. The suffixed genitive particle is perfectly different in Bushman and Hottentot, the Bushman particle being ka, ga, ya, or a; *e.g.* ǁka is *lion*, and ǁka ga ãn lion's *flesh*, sa ga ãn *eland's flesh*, ǁkã ga ǃnu *lion's foot*, *i.e.* lion's traces. This Bushman genitive particle may, like the corresponding one in Hottentot, be also totally omitted. In fact, the cases of such omission appear to be more frequent than those in which the genitive particle is employed, *e.g.* ǁkã ǂkui *lion tail*, koro ǂkui *jackal tail*, toï ǂkui *ostrich tail*. The difference in the form of the suffixed genitive particle in Hottentot and Bushman is as significant as the difference in the use of the prefixed genitive particles *of* in English and *de* in French. Although the former is identical in meaning with the French particle, the difference in its form shows at what a distance English grammar stands, genealogically speaking, from that of the Romance languages.

"One other point of great and conclusive dissimilarity between Bushman and other South African languages is discernible in the forms of the so-called personal pronouns. They are, as far as we know them, n *I*, a *thou*,

ha *he, she, it,* i *we,* u *you.* Of the numerals, the second, !ku or !ú, at least offers no resemblance either to the same numeral in the Bantu languages, or in Hottentot; and beyond two every higher number is ǂoaya *many,* although the Bushman may indicate with his fingers to some extent the exact number, *e.g.* ǂoaya, showing four fingers, *i.e.* as many as four, will indicate four, and ǂoaya, showing seven fingers, seven.

"In this deficiency of higher numerals the Bushman race appears to be even more primitive than the Australian tribes, which generally have distinct names for the numerals as far as three or four. But the exceedingly ancient character of the Bushman language appears to be in no way better vindicated than by their very curious phonetic system. It is customary to class Hottentot and Bushman together under the category of clicking languages; and, to a certain extent, this is correct. But in the frequency of these strange sounds, in the number of their varieties, and in the range of organs which are employed in their pronunciation, the Bushman tongue by far exceeds the Hottentot language. In Bushman, clicks are not merely produced by the tongue, but also by the lips. There can be no question that among the sounds of human language clicks are those which it requires the greatest effort to produce. The study of the history of language shows us that the further the speech of a people develops, the more it throws off such sounds as impede the pronunciation or render it more difficult. Those languages, therefore, in which the sounds are easiest of utterance are the farthest removed from the primitive phonetic systems of human speech, whilst those which abound in uncouth and almost unpronounceable sounds must be presumed to have better retained their ancient phonetic features."

The above extracts contain all that is known with certainty to-day, and, unless by some exceeding good fortune Miss Lloyd's papers are published, possibly all that will ever be known, of the manner in which palæolithic man in South Africa put together sounds to express his ideas. From an English translation of some Bushman tales published in the *Folklore Journal,* and taken over by me in these notes, it can be seen that the wild people had the power of expressing action in the present, past, and future time, and could even convey ideas in a potential form, but how their verbs were conjugated—a point of such importance in the history of the growth of language,—the various shades of meaning that they could convey, the method of formation of a passive voice, and so much more that could be learned from a few sheets of those Bushman texts with literal translations, must remain unknown, as it is greatly to be feared that it is too late now to ascertain these particulars. To find out what is needed, it would first be necessary to search for any individuals who may still speak their own language in an uncorrupted form, and then to spend many years in acquiring a mastery of their tongue.

As late as 1873 Dr. Bleek intimated in an article in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* that he had not even then completely acquired all the

information that he needed. His words were: "the present attempt thoroughly to master the Bushman language has been dictated by purely scientific motives." And in classifying the languages of South Africa he says: "Three kinds of native languages are spoken within the borders of this colony:—1, Kafir, belonging to the great family of Prefix-pronominal languages, which fill almost the whole of South Africa, and extend to the north-west at least as far as Sierra Leone; 2, Hottentot, the only known South African member of the very extensive Sex-denoting family which has spread itself over North Africa, Europe, and a great part of Asia; 3, Bushman, relationship unknown as yet, presenting outward features of the so-called genderless (or, as Max Müller calls it, Turanian) class, if related to Hottentot, so exceedingly metamorphosed as to be more different from it than English is from Latin; yet very primitive in its uncouth sounds and in certain structural features, whilst many others are evidently the result of processes of contraction, and of strong grammatical and phonetical changes, the explanation of which leads us back far into the former history of this original language."

In 1875 Dr. Bleek drew up a report for the information of the Cape parliament, which shows what an enormous amount of work had then been done. The total quantity of Bushman literature collected covered 7,200 half pages, and was contained in eighty-four volumes. "A large portion of these Bushman texts," he wrote, "has been translated with the aid of the narrators. From almost the whole of my own translated texts, the words have already been entered into a Bushman-English Dictionary, which now contains more than 11,000 entries, and from which, as well as from my older Dictionary, an Index or English-Bushman Dictionary (comprising already about 10,000 entries) has been compiled. One of the stories, that of the Mantis turning himself into a hartebeest, has been prepared for publication (as a first small text-book of the Bushman language), to be accompanied by a translation and vocabulary. But the want of the necessary type, and of means to procure it, has hitherto prevented the printing of any texts in Bushman."

The stories of which a synopsis is given cover the field of mythology, fables, legends, poetry, personal history, &c., but no copies in the original are given.

This was the state of the work at the time of Dr. Bleek's death: a great deal of material collected, but nothing except what has been mentioned above placed before students or general readers. What Miss Lloyd performed has already been stated. In 1889 she published in London *A Short Account of further Bushman Material collected*, and with that, which contains nothing in the original, the progress of a work which promised so much information upon palæolithic man came to a perfect standstill.

In the *Folklore Journal* of May 1880 Miss L. C. Lloyd published the following stories; being the literal translation of two taken down by her from the dictation of a Bushman named |han‡kass'ō.

The Son of the Wind.

The wind (the narrator explains the *Son of the Wind* is here meant) was formerly still. And he rolled (a ball) to !ná-ka-ti. He exclaimed, "Oh !ná-ka-ti! there it goes!" And !ná-ka-ti exclaimed, "Oh comrade! there it goes!" because !ná-ka-ti did not know his (the other one's) name. Therefore !ná-ka-ti said, "Oh comrade! there it goes!" He who was the wind, he was the one who said, "Oh !ná-ka-ti! there it goes."

Therefore !ná-ka-ti went to question his mother about the other one's name. He exclaimed, "Oh! Our mother! Utter for me yonder comrade's name; for comrade utters my name; I do not utter comrade's name. I would also utter comrade's name when I am rolling (a ball) to him. For I do not utter comrade's name; I would also utter his name when I roll a ball to him." Therefore his mother exclaimed, "I will not utter to thee comrade's name. For thou shalt wait, that father may first strongly shelter the hut; and then I will utter for thee comrade's name. And thou shalt, when I have uttered for thee comrade's name, thou must, when I am the one who has uttered for thee comrade's name, thou must scamper away, thou must run home, that thou mayst come into the hut, whilst thou feelest that the wind would blow thee away."

Therefore the child went away; they (the two children) went to roll (the ball) there. Therefore he (!ná-ka-ti) again went to his mother, he again went to question his mother about the other one's name. And his mother exclaimed, "|érriten-!kuan-!kuan it is; !gau-!gaubu-ti it is. He is |érriten-!kuan-!kuan; he is !gau-!gaubu-ti, he is |érriten-!kuan-!kuan."

Therefore !ná-ka-ti went away. He went to roll (the ball) there, while he did not utter the other one's name, because he felt that his mother was the one who had thus spoken to him. She said, "Thou must not, at first, utter comrade's name. Thou must, at first, be silent, even if comrade be the one who is uttering thy name. Therefore thou shalt, when thou hast uttered comrade's name, thou must run home, whilst thou feelest that the wind would blow thee away."

Therefore !ná-ka-ti went away. They went to roll (the ball) there, while the other was the one who uttered his (!ná-ka-ti's) name; while he felt that he (!ná-ka-ti) intended that his father might first finish sheltering the hut, and (when) he beheld that his father sat down, then he would, afterwards, utter the other one's name, when he saw that his father had finished sheltering the hut.

Therefore, when he beheld that his father finished sheltering the hut, then he exclaimed, "There it goes! Oh |érriten-!kuan-!kuan! there it goes! Oh !gau-!gaubu-ti! there it goes!" And he scampered away, he ran home; while the other one began to lean over, and the other one fell

down. He lay kicking (violently) upon the flat ground. Therefore the people's huts vanished away; the wind blew away their (sheltering) bushes, together with the huts, while the people could not see for the dust. Therefore, his (the wind's) mother came out of the hut (*i.e.* of the wind's hut); his mother came to raise him up; his mother grasping (him), set him on his feet. And he was unwilling, (and) wanted to lie still. His mother, taking hold (of him), set him upright. Therefore, the wind became still; while the wind had, at first, while it lay, made the dust rise. Therefore, we who are Bushmen, we are wont to say, "The wind seems to have lain down, for it does not gently blow (=it blows very strongly). For, when it stands (upright), then it is wont to be still, if it stands; for it seems to have lain down, when it feels like this. Its knee is that which makes a noise, if it lies down, for its knee does make a noise. I had wished that it might be gently blowing for us, that we might go out; that we might ascend yonder (hill), that we might look at yonder (dry) river-bed behind (the hill). For we have driven away the springbok from this place. Therefore, the springbok have gone to yonder (dry) river-bed, behind (the hill). For we have not a little shot springbok here (*i.e.* at this place); for we have shot, letting the sun set, at the springbok here.

The Wind.

The wind was formerly a person. He became a feathered thing (*i.e.* a bird). And he flew, while he no longer walked as formerly; for he flew, and he dwelt in the mountain (that is, in a mountain hole). Therefore he flew. He was formerly a person. Therefore he formerly rolled (a ball); he shot; while he felt that he was a person. He became a feathered thing; and then he flew, and he inhabited a mountain hole. And he was coming out of it, he flew about, and he returns home to it. And he comes to sleep in it; and he early awakes (and) goes out of it; he flies away; again he flies away. And he again returns home, while he feels that he has sought food. And he eats, about, about, about, about, he again returns home. And he, again, comes to sleep in it (that is, in his hole).

The following description of the Bushmen, given by a Zulu to the reverend Canon Callaway, and published by him in his *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, is an excellent representation of the feeling of all Bantu towards the primitive people:

The Dreadfulness of the Abatwa.

They are dreaded by men; they are not dreadful for the greatness of their bodies, nor for appearing to be men; no, there is no appearance

of manliness; and greatness there is none; they are little things, which go under the grass. And a man goes looking in front of him, thinking, "If there come a man or a wild beast, I shall see." And, forsooth, an Umutwa is there under the grass; and the man feels when he is already pierced by an arrow; he looks, but does not see the man who shot it. It is this, then, that takes away the strength; for they will die without seeing the man with whom they will fight. On that account, then, the country of the Abatwa is dreadful; for men do not see the man with whom they are going to fight. The Abatwa are fleas, which are unseen whence they come; yet they teaze a man; they rule over him, they exalt themselves over him, until he is unable to sleep, being unable to lie down, and unable to quiet his heart; for the flea is small; the hand of a man is large; it is necessary that it should lay hold of something which can be felt. Just so are the Abatwa; their strength is like that of the fleas, which have the mastery in the night, and the Abatwa have the mastery through high grass, for it conceals them; they are not seen. That then is the power with which the Abatwa conquer men, concealment, they laying wait for men; they see them for their part, but they are not seen.

The bow with which they shoot beast or man does not kill by itself alone; it kills because the point of their arrow is smeared with poison, in order that as soon as it enters, it may cause much blood to flow; blood runs from the whole body, and the man dies forthwith. But that poison of theirs, many kinds of it are known to hunters of the elephant. That then is the dreadfulness of the Abatwa, on account of which they are dreaded.

The Colour of the Bushmen.

The colour of the Bushmen seems to indicate that it was acquired for a purpose of the greatest utility to them. On the arid plains and bare mountain sides they were invisible at a short distance, so closely did the tint of their skin resemble that of the dried-up soil. Even their scantily covered scalps were of advantage to them in this respect. After rains when high grass sprang up, through which they could creep covered with a few tufts, or in a bushy country where they could adopt disguises, their colour would be a matter of little importance, but on the great plains of South Africa it meant a very great deal, for it enabled them by keeping to leeward and making use of anthills or boulders or shrubs to stalk their prey until within distance of their arrows. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the same guiding mind which coloured so many of the lower animals in accordance with their environment should have exerted its beneficent power in aid of savage man in the same way? In the far distant time when the ancestors of the Bushmen

made their first appearance in South Africa they may not have been of the same colour as they were when Europeans first saw them. People so similar to them in nearly all other respects—for instance the Semang of the Malay peninsula,—that it is impossible to doubt that they are of the same race, are much darker skinned and their heads are more thickly covered with spiral hair. But even in South Africa, as the traveller Burchell observed in the early years of the nineteenth century, the Bushmen north of the Orange were differently coloured from those south of that river, though each section had the tint best suited to its surroundings. This cannot be accidental. Of course when clothing came to be worn by primitive man such changes were useless, and consequently ceased to take place.

SYNOPTICAL INDEX.

ABRAHAM ZWARTBOOI, chief of a section of the red nation: assists the Hereros in their war of independence, 319; further mention of, 332, 333, 344, and 345

Adam Kok: in 1863 is located with his Griquas in part of Nomansland, 67; drives Nehemiah Moshesh out of the territory, 67 and 68; in his old age finds himself in a difficult position, 185; in October 1874 surrenders his authority to the government of the Cape Colony, 186; on the 30th of December 1875 dies, 187

Agriculture: extent of ground used for in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43

d'Albuquerque, Captain Mousinho: in December 1895 by a daring march captures the chief Gungunyana, 412

Alfred County: in 1865 is annexed to Natal, 360

Algoa Bay: account of shipwrecks in October 1859 and September 1869 at, 105

|Amaqua tribe of Hottentots: particulars concerning, 317

Amatshezi clan of Bantu: account of the, 174

Amraal, chief of the Gei||Khauas: in 1865 dies, 316

Anarchy in Eastern Pondoland: account of, 221

Andersson, Mr. C. J.: assists the Hereros in their war of independence, and is severely wounded, 320

d'Andrada, Colonel Joaquim Carlos Paiva: transactions in 1890 of, 400, 403, and 404

d'Andrada, Onofre Lourenço, commandant of the Portuguese fort at Lourenço Marques: in 1862 assists Umzila against his rival and in return obtains a cession of territory, 393

Andries Lambert, chief of the Gei||Khauas: particulars concerning, 316, 324, and 334

Angoni horde of Bantu: career of the, 383

Angora goats: particulars concerning the introduction into the Cape Colony of, 12

Annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 23 to 26, 28, 37, and 70 to 75

Annexation of the diamond fields to the British dominions: effect upon the blacks of, 267

Anniversary of the arrival of the British settlers in the Cape Colony: in May 1870 the fiftieth is celebrated in Grahamstown, 110

Anta, Gaika chief: mention of, 52
Anthing, Mr. Louis: is sent by the Cape government as a special commissioner to the territory along the Hartebeest river, 30; in April 1863 sends in a report dealing with the Bushmen, 31
Aponda, chief of the Ovambanderu: mention of, 324 and 327
Arbitration between Great Britain and Portugal concerning the ownership of Delagoa Bay: account of, 395 and 396
Arnot, Mr. David: in 1873 is elected representative of Hay in the legislative council of Griqualand West, 280; claims extensive tracts of land granted to him as private property by Nicholas Waterboer, 288 and 289; is the most advanced imperialist in South Africa, 292
Athens, Union Company's steamer: on the 17th of May 1865 is lost in Table Bay with all on board, 77 and 78
Ayliff, Mr. James: in January 1872 visits Nomansland on a commission, 68 and 69; in May 1873 becomes resident with Kreli, 155; in March 1876 becomes agent in Fingoland, ib.
Ayliff, Hon. William, secretary for native affairs: in September 1878 obtains the consent of the Emigrant Tembu chiefs to come under the authority of the Cape Colony, 173

Baca tribe of Bantu: account of the, 63; good conduct of the section under the chief Makaula, 188; in 1878 they assist the Cape government during the Griqua insurrection, 189; and in 1880 during the rebellion of various tribes, 198
Bakwena tribe of Bantu: account of the, 305 and 306
Bamangwato tribe of Bantu: account of the, 306 and 307
Bangwaketse tribe of Bantu: account of the, 304 and 305
Bank notes duty: in 1864 is first imposed in the Cape Colony, 35
Banks in Natal: particulars concerning, 365
Bantu: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 42; characteristics of, 51; normal condition of in a state of independence, 64, 69, and 233; checks upon the great natural increase of, 255; particulars concerning those in Natal, 360 *et seq.*
Baptista, Pedro João, a black trader: in 1806-11 crosses the continent from Angola to Tete, 390
Barkly, Sir Henry: on the 31st of December 1870 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner, 114; situations previously held by, ib.; early in 1871 visits the diamond fields, Bloemfontein, Basutoland, and the eastern province, ib.; on the 27th of April 1871 opens the Cape parliament with a speech in favour of responsible government and federation, 115; deals unceremoniously with the Orange Free State, 284 and 286
Barkly West, village of: in July 1873 receives its present name, 279
Barnabas, successor of Cornelis Oasib, chief of the red nation: mention of, 324 and 334

Baroswi or Barotsi, the: are brought under subjection by Sebetoané, 307; in 1865 a large section establishes its independence by the extermination of the Makololo, 315

Batonga along the Zambesi: are brought under subjection by Sebetoané, 307

Batonga at Delagoa Bay: description of, 376

Beaufort West, town of: in October 1869 sustains much damage from heavy floods, 105

Beira, seaport: description of, 399; condition of in 1899, 408

Berg Damaras or Ghou Damup: mention of, 316, 320, 332, 335, 342, and 343

Bickford, Captain, R.N.: in November 1861 proclaims the islands Inyaka and Elephant in Delagoa Bay British territory and annexed to Natal, 392

Bizana, district of: in 1894 is formed, 254

Blakeway, Captain: in November 1880 is killed in Fingoland, 162

Bleek, Dr. W.: is the first custodian of the Grey library in Cape-town, 20

Blyth, Captain Matthew: in 1869 is appointed Fingo agent, and speedily acquires great power over the people, 60; in March 1876 becomes chief magistrate of the districts of Matatiele, Kokstad, and Umzimkulu, 187; also of Mount Frere, 188; in September 1878 is appointed chief magistrate of Transkei, 161 and 189

Bomvanaland: in December 1878 is united to the chief magistracy of Tembuland, 176

Bomvanas, the; account of, 174

Bondelzwarts, Hottentot clan: mention of, 319

Bonga, a resident of the bank of the Zambesi: rebels against Portuguese authority and for many years successfully resists the forces sent against him, 411; in 1853 plunders and partly destroys Tete, 410; but in 1888 is subdued by Gouveia, 411

Books upon South Africa published during recent years: list of, 415

Bosphorus, transport: on the 21st of October 1867 is wrecked near Cape Saint Francis, 95

Botlasitsi, son of Gasibone, Batlapin chief: in 1878 is at war with Griqualand West, 296 and 297; in November of that year is made a prisoner and confined at Kimberley, 301

Boundary of Portuguese South Africa, 406

Bowker, James Henry: in May 1870 succeeds Sir Walter Currie as commandant of the Cape frontier armed and mounted police, 99

Bowker, Thomas Holden: in 1872 is a member of the Griqualand West land commission, 288 and 289

Boyes, Major J. F.: in April 1876 becomes magistrate of Umtata, 170

Brand, J. H., president of the Orange Free State: is temporarily irritated by the annexation of the diamond fields to the British dominions, 265 and 266; in 1876 visits England to confer with the

imperial authorities, 291; and accepts an offer made by Earl Carnarvon to settle the dispute regarding Griqualand West, ib.
Breakwater in Table Bay: in September 1860 its construction is commenced, 5
Brisley, G. C.: as a representative of Adam Kok arranges in February 1875 for the transfer of the Griquas to the rule of the Cape Colony, 186
British Kaffraria: population, revenue, expenditure, and exports in 1861 of, 18; in 1865 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 75; imports and exports of from 1862 to 1865, 76; population in 1865 of, ib. See Annexation
British settlers: celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival in the Cape Colony of, 110
British South Africa Chartered Company: on the 29th of October 1889 is established, 400
Brownlee, Mr. Charles: on the 16th of March 1865 holds an important meeting with the Gaika chiefs, 52; in November 1872 becomes secretary for native affairs in the Cape Colony under responsible government, 147; in January 1873 visits the Transkei and brings about peace between the Tembus and Xosas, 58 and 59; in December 1878 becomes chief magistrate of Griqualand East, 191; in October 1880 narrowly escapes from Matatiele at the beginning of the Basuto rebellion, 194
Burness, Messrs.; in May 1878 are murdered by insurgents at Daniel's Kuil, 298
Bushmen: disappear utterly from the country between Grahamstown and King-Williamstown, 2; in 1844 are the only inhabitants of the territory along the base of the Drakensberg, 63; have as their last retreat in the Cape Colony the territory along the Hartebeest river, 30; which is invaded by people of various races, who destroy many of them, 30 and 31; an attempt is made by the government to establish those who are left as graziers, but it fails, 31; subsequent career of these people, 32 and 98; note on, 92; further mention of, 64, 97, 99, 316, 328, 333, and 335; notes on their language, &c., 447
Butterworth, district of: in September 1877 is formed, 160; as part of Fingoland in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 155
Butterworth mission station: particulars concerning, 44
Buyskes, P. L., sheriff of Griqualand West: in 1872 is a member of the land commission, 288

Cala, district of: in May 1881 is formed, but in September 1884 is partitioned between Xalanga and St. Mark's, 179
Caldas, João Pereira de Sousa: in June 1818 is killed in a quarrel with Bantu at Delagoa Bay, 375
Caldas, José Antonio, captain of the fort at Lourenço Marques: in 1805 obtains from a Bantu chief a cession of a large tract of land, 374

Cape Cross: note on, 341
Cape mounted rifles: in 1870 the regiment is disbanded, 149
Cape of Good Hope Telegraph Company: particulars concerning, 11
Cape parliament: proceedings during the session of 1861, 7 to 11; during the session of 1862, 23 to 28; during the session of 1863, 32 to 34; during the session of 1864, 35 to 37; during the session of 1865, 72 to 74; during the session of 1866, 79 to 82; during the session of 1867, 85 to 93; during the session of 1868, 96; during the session of 1869, 100 to 103; during the session of 1870, 106 to 109; during the session of 1871, 115 to 128; during the session of 1872, 134 to 145 and 268 to 271; increase in 1865 of the number of members of both houses, 75; in 1875 declares it desirable to annex the western coast as far as Walfish Bay, 329; in the session of 1884 passes an act to annex Walfish Bay to the colony, 338; and at the same time approves of the annexation to the colony of the coast line of Hereroland and Great Namaqualand, 346
Capetown: population in 1865, 42; in 1867 is ravaged by fever, 83 and 84
de Cardenas, Lupe, captain of the fort at Lourenço Marques: in 1823 is murdered by Bantu and nearly his whole force perishes, 382
Cardwell, Right Hon. Mr., secretary of state for the colonies: in August 1864 resolves to withdraw British dominion from the Transkeian territories, 48
Carel Ruyters, Korana captain: account of, 97
Carnarvon, Earl: on the 6th of July 1866 succeeds Mr. Cardwell as secretary of state for the colonies, 351; in 1876 arranges the long dispute with the Orange Free State concerning the diamond fields, 291; in January 1878 makes known the views of the imperial government regarding Hereroland and Great Namaqualand, 336 to 338
Carty, a policeman: is murdered on the Pondo border, 252
Castle Steamship Company: particulars concerning, 149
Cathcart, district of: in 1878 is formed of the Gaika location west of the Kei, from which the former inhabitants have been removed, 161 and 162
Cattle Damaras: see Hereros
Cattle lifting along the eastern Pondo border: mention of, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 232, and 234
Cattle thefts by and from Pondos: return of, 237
Census of the Cape Colony taken in March 1865: particulars concerning, 42 and 43
Chalmers, Mr. E. B.: in February 1871 is appointed resident with Gangelizwe, 57 and 58
Chalmers, Mr. William B.: from September 1861 to the end of 1864 is special magistrate at Idutywa, 45
Chapman, William: in August 1878 is murdered at Kuruman, 300

Christian Afrikaner: succeeds his father Jonker as captain of a Hottentot clan, 319; in June 1863 attacks Otjimbingue, and is killed in the action, 319.
Chronological list of the principal events in South African history, 436
City of Peterborough, barque: on the 17th of May 1865 is lost in Table Bay with all on board, 77
Cobbe, Captain: in 1865 is stationed with the Fingos in the Transkeian territory, 53; further mention of, 59; in May 1869 is withdrawn, 60
Coffee planting in Natal: particulars concerning, 357
Cole, Mr. E. M., auditor-general: in 1871 signs a memorandum in antagonism to the introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony, 118
Colenbrander, Mr. T. W.: is the head of the Dutch settlement at New Gelderland in Natal, 352
Colenso, Right Rev. Dr., bishop of Natal: particulars of the celebrated case of, 366 and 367
Colley, Lieutenant George Pomeroy: from September 1858 to May 1860 is special magistrate at Idutywa, 45
Colquhoun, Mr. Archibald: is the first administrator of Mashonaland, 401; further mention of, 403
Combat between the Pondos and Bacas in June 1885: account of, 222 and 223
Commerce at Delagoa Bay in 1823: description of, 376
Commercial crisis in Natal in 1865: particulars concerning, 365
Constitution amendment bill (introduction of responsible government): particulars concerning its adoption by the house of assembly and rejection by the legislative council of the Cape Colony in 1871, 126; in April 1872 is again brought before the Cape parliament, 136; and in June is passed by both houses, 139; in August is approved by the queen, 146; and on the 28th of November is promulgated by proclamation, ib.
Coode, Sir John, marine engineer: designs the harbour works in Table Bay, 10; in 1870 furnishes plans for the improvement of East London, Port Alfred, and Algoa Bay, 111
Cornelis Oasib, chief of the red nation: mention of, 319
da Costa, José Marques, captain of Sofala: in 1836 is killed in battle with the Matshangana, 385
Cotton: experiments in the cultivation of in the Cape Colony, 112; quantities exported from 1867 to 1871, ib.
Cotton growing in Natal: particulars concerning, 357
County councils in Natal: in 1857 are abolished, 359
Courts of justice in Natal: particulars concerning, 359
da Cruz, Antonio Vicente: see Bonga
da Cruz, Joaquim José: see Nyaude
Cumming, Mr. Thomas A.: in October 1869 is appointed superintendent

at Idutywa, 60; in March 1875 becomes magistrate at Kokstad, 186; in March 1876 returns to Idutywa, 187

Cumming, Mr. William G.: in July 1878 becomes magistrate of Xalanga, 172

Cunynghame, General Sir Arthur: in 1875 accompanies a military force sent to the diamond fields to restore order, 287

Currie, Sir Donald: in 1886 assists very materially in the arrangement of matters between Great Britain and the Orange Free State, 291

Currie, Sir Walter, commandant of the frontier armed and mounted police: mention of, 47, 48, and 49; in March 1861 visits the Pondo chief Faku, who offers to cede Nomansland to the Cape Colony, 66; in March 1862 visits Nomansland to try to arrange the south-western boundary of Natal, 67; in 1865 assists in laying down that boundary, 360; in 1869 with one hundred and fifty men of the police is sent to the northern border to conduct operations against the Koranas, 98; where his health breaks down, so that he is obliged to retire, 99; in June 1872 dies, ib.

Customs duties: in 1864 those in the Cape Colony are increased to ten per cent ad valorem, 35; particulars of those in Natal, 355; and of those at Portuguese ports on the eastern coast after 1853, 388

Dalasile, head of the Amakwati clans of the Tembu tribe: particulars concerning, 56 and 58; in December 1875 agrees to become a British subject, 169 and 170; in 1878 is fined a hundred head of cattle for disobedience, 172; in 1880 rises in rebellion, but is driven from his territory and thoroughly subdued, 177; in May 1895 dies, 181

Dalindyebo: in December 1884 succeeds his father Gangelizwe as chief of the Tembus, 181; in November 1886 offers to assist the Europeans against the Pondos, 240

Dane, Union Company's steamship: on the 1st of December 1865 is wrecked near Cape Recife, 78

Darala, Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 50 and 54; in September 1878 consents to come under the authority of the Cape Colony, 173; in June 1884 dies, 181

David Christian, captain of the |Amaqua, an immigrant Hottentot clan living at Bethany in Great Namaqualand: mention of, 317, 324, and 334; on the 11th of November 1880 is killed in battle at New Barmen, 344

Davidson, Mr. J. C., treasurer-general; in 1871 signs a memorandum in antagonism to the introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony, 118; in December 1872, upon the introduction of responsible government, retires on pension, 147

David Witbooi, captain of the Hottentot clan at Gibeon; mention of, 325

Defensive force of the Cape Colony in 1872; particulars concerning, 149

Delagoa Bay: condition of the Bantu on its shores in 1823, 375; is considered by Captain Owen as of much importance to Great Britain, 377 and 381; in October 1833 the Portuguese fort is destroyed by the Matshangana and the whole garrison is murdered, 384
Delagoa Bay arbitration case: account of, 395 and 396
De Pass, Mr. Daniel: acquires extensive concessions in Great Namaqualand, 347
Diamond: account of the first found in South Africa, 91
Diamond digging in 1871: account of, 264 to 266
Diamond Fields Horse: perform excellent service in 1878 in the war between the Xosas and the Cape Colony, 296
Diamond mines: condition in 1877 of, 293
Diamonds: sensational thefts of in 1872, 271 and 272; value of exports of, 282
Diamond Steamship Company: particulars concerning, 38
Disarmament act: in 1879 is enforced in Idutywa, Butterworth, Nqamakwe, and Tsolo, 162
Distress in the Cape Colony: in 1867 reaches an acute point, 83
Dock in Table Bay: particulars concerning, 10; on the 17th of May 1870 is opened for use, 111
Donker Malgas: in 1878 is a leader of the insurgents in Griqualand West, 297; on the 5th of June of that year his stronghold in the Langebergen is taken by storm, 298
Dordrecht, village of: in 1857 is founded, 131; in 1871 becomes the seat of magistracy of the district of Wodehouse, ib.
Douglas, Sir Percy: in November 1863 succeeds Lieutenant-General Wynyard as commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa, 48
Drought: effects of, 21
Dukwana, son of Ntsikana: is killed in the rebellion of 1878, 181
Durban: description of in 1872, 368

Eastern districts court of the Cape Colony: in 1865 is established, 37; after 1882 has jurisdiction in the annexed districts east of the Kei, 207
Eastern Province, Diamond Company's steamship: on the 26th of June 1865 is wrecked near the mouth of Ratel River, 38
East London: particulars concerning the improvement of the harbour of, 131; on the 26th of May 1872 in a gale seven vessels are wrecked at, 150
Education in the Cape Colony: progress of, 149
Education in Natal: particulars concerning, 358
Einwald, Herr, a German in Pondoland: mention of, 249
Electors: number of in each province of the Cape Colony in 1872 and in 1873, 141

Electric telegraph: in 1863 is opened between Durban and Maritzburg, 366

Elliot, Major Henry G.: in August 1877 becomes chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper, 171; in March 1894 conducts the negotiations for the cession of Western Pondoland to Great Britain, 252 and 253

Elliotdale, district of: in March 1878 is formed, 176; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180

Elton, Captain: in 1870 explores the central course of the Limpopo river, 396 and 397

Emigrant Tembuland; in 1878 is divided into two districts, Southeyville and Xalanga, 172; which are joined to the chief magistracy of Tembuland Proper, 173

Emigration of white people from the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 22, 39, and 96

Emjanyana, district of: in March 1876 is formed, 170; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180

Engcobo, district of: in March 1876 is formed, 170; in 1882 part of the district is cut off for occupation by Europeans, 179; in August 1885 it is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180

English weights and measures: since the 1st of January 1861 have alone been legal in the Cape Colony, 6

Erskine, Major D.; in June 1878 is appointed resident at Walfish Bay, 338

European farmers in Tembuland: account of, 56

European immigrants into Natal: particulars concerning, 350, 351, and 352

Europeans: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 42

Eustace, Colonel J. T.: in November 1876 becomes resident with Kreli, 155; in September 1877, owing to the outbreak of war, withdraws from the post, 157

Expenditure: of British Kaffraria in 1861, 18; of the Cape Colony, comparison between 1854 and 1866, 80; of the Cape Colony, items of in 1871 and 1872, 153

Exports: of British Kaffraria through East London in 1861, 18; of British Kaffraria through East London from 1862 to 1865, 76; of the Cape Colony from 1862 to 1867, 94; of the Cape Colony from 1868 to 1872, 151 and 152; of Natal from 1857 to 1872, 370 and 371

Fairbairn, Mr. John; on the 5th of October 1864 dies, 39

Faku, paramount Pondo chief: particulars concerning, 61, 62, 66, and 359; dealings of the Natal government with, 64 and 65; on the 29th of October 1867 dies, 69 and 212

Federation; in June 1871 a commission is appointed by the governor of the Cape Colony to inquire into and report upon, 128; in March 1872 the commission sends in a report, 130; after which the question ceases to engage public attention, 131

Fever: in 1867 causes great loss of life in the Cape Colony, 83, and 84
Fihla, petty Galeka chief: in August 1877 is bruised in a quarrel at a Fingo wedding, which leads to the ninth Kaffir war, 156
Fingoland: in September 1878 is divided into three magisterial districts named Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Butterworth, 161; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 155
Fingos: increase in number very rapidly, 53; in 1865 have a great tract of land beyond the Kei given to them, ib.; prosper greatly under the guidance of Captain Blyth, 60, 154, and 164
Finnish evangelical society: in 1869 establishes a mission with the Ovambo, 347
Flax: experiments in the cultivation of in the Cape Colony, 112
Forbes, Captain Patrick William: in November 1890 takes decisive action against the Portuguese at Umtasa's kraal, 403, 404, and 405
Fort São Sebastião: state of in the early years of the nineteenth century, 373
Frontier armed and mounted police of the Cape Colony: strength of in 1872, 149
Fynn, Mr. William: in July 1865 is stationed as resident with Kreli, 54; mention of, 57; in June 1877 becomes resident with Moni, 174; in March 1878 becomes magistrate of Bomvanaland, 176

Gabela, Pondo counsellor: is put to death for causing the illness of his chief, 248
Gaikas, the: in 1878 are removed to the district of Kentani, east of the Kei, 161
Galekaland: in February 1878 is brought by conquest under the Cape government, 160; in September 1878 is divided into the two districts of Kentani and Willowvale, 161
Galekas, the: in February 1858 are driven over the Bashee into Bomvanaland, 44; in 1864 are permitted to return to the present districts of Kentani and Willowvale, 49; in February 1878 are again driven over the Bashee, 160. See Kreli, Ninth Kaffir war, and Willowvale
Gambushe, Bomvana chief: is received as a vassal by the Galeka chief Kawuta, 174
Game: abundance of in 1860 in the Orange Free State, 4
Gangelizwe, paramount Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 51, 55, and 56; in May 1866 takes as his great wife a daughter of the Xosa chief Kreli, 57; who suffers brutal treatment from him, ib.; Kreli complains to the governor, who fines Gangelizwe forty head of cattle, ib.; but the Xosas are dissatisfied, and war between the tribes follows, ib.; on the 6th of October 1872 the Tembus are defeated in a battle, when Gangelizwe flees to Clarkebury, 58; he then offers his country to the British government, ib.; but when a commissioner is sent to conclude the arrangement he withdraws the

offer, ib.; in January 1873 formally concludes peace with Kreli, 59; in July 1875 causes a Galeka woman, one of his concubines, to be murdered, 167; on Kreli's referring the matter to the colonial government, an investigation takes place, and Gangelizwe is fined two hundred head of cattle and £100 in money, 168; as the Galekas are not satisfied with this punishment and seem resolved to be avenged, Gangelizwe and his subordinate chiefs again offer to come under the colonial government, ib.; the offer is accepted, and in December 1875 the main branch of the Tembu tribe become British subjects, 169; it is announced, however, that Gangelizwe cannot be recognised as a chief, ib.; but as his people will not ignore him and become sullen and disaffected, at the close of 1876 he is restored to his former rank, 171; in the war of 1877-8 he renders good service to the Cape Colony, 172; in the insurrection of 1880 again renders good service, 177; in 1882 cedes a portion of the district of Engcobo for occupation by Europeans, 179; in 1882 sells to the government land for a commonage for the town of Umtata, 180; in December 1884 dies, 181

Garner, Mr. J. H.: in May 1876 becomes magistrate of Mount Frere, 188

Garrison of the Cape Colony:—

85th regiment, in May 1863 leaves for England, 41

59th regiment, in October 1861 leaves for England, 15

Second battalion of the 13th regiment, in March 1863 leaves for Mauritius, 41

Second battalion of the 10th regiment, in November 1864 leaves for India, 41

Second battalion of the 11th regiment, in September 1861 arrives from England, 15; in April 1865 leaves for China, 41; in July 1866 returns to South Africa, 148; in June 1870 leaves for England, ib.

96th regiment, in March 1863 arrives, 41; in October and November 1865 leaves for India, 41

Second battalion of the 5th regiment, in April 1863 arrives from Mauritius, 41; in May 1867 leaves for England, 148

First battalion of the 10th regiment, in November 1864 arrives, 41; in March 1868 leaves, 148

99th regiment, in April and September 1865 arrives, 41; in July 1868 leaves for England, 148

67th regiment, in April and September 1865 arrives, 41; in July 1866 leaves, 148

First battalion of the 9th regiment, in October 1865 arrives, 41; in August 1870 leaves for England, 148

Second battalion of the 20th regiment, in May 1867 arrives, 148; in June 1870 leaves for Mauritius, ib.; in January 1871 one wing returns from Mauritius, and in December of the same year leaves for England, ib.

86th regiment, in May 1867 one wing arrives from Gibraltar, and in December of the same year proceeds to Mauritius, 148; in October 1868 the other wing arrives, and in July 1870 the first one returns from Mauritius, ib.
32nd regiment, in July 1869 arrives; in October 1871 one wing leaves for Mauritius, 148
75th regiment, in October 1871 arrives, 148
In December 1872 the 75th, the 86th, and one wing of the 32nd are in South Africa, 148
Gasiyitsiwe: succeeds his grandfather Makaba as chief of the Bangwaketse, 305
Gawler, Colonel: in August and September 1858 is special magistrate at Idutywa, 45
Gecelo, son of Tshopo, vassal Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 50 and 54; in September 1878 consents to come under colonial authority, 173; in 1880 rises in rebellion, but is driven from his territory and thoroughly subdued, 177
Gei‖Khauas, Hottentot tribe: particulars concerning, 316, 333, 334, and 343
George Moshesh: conduct of, 241
Germany: in August 1884 takes possession of the coast of Great Namaqualand and Hereroland, 347; and shortly acquires an immense extent of territory to the eastward, 348
Ghou Damup: see Berg Damaras
Gibeon, Rhenish mission station: in 1866 is destroyed, 321
Gladwin, Mr. F. P.: in October 1877 is appointed assistant magistrate at Tsomo, 160; in October 1878 becomes magistrate of Nqamakwe, 161
Glen Grey: efforts of Sir Philip Wodehouse to obtain for European colonisation, 45 and 50
Glynn, Colonel, of the 24th regiment: after December 1877 commands the forces east of the Kei to the end of the ninth Kaffir war, 159
Goats: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43
Gobabis: the Rhenish mission station at is plundered and destroyed by the Gei‖Khauas under Lambert, 321
Godlonton, Hon. Robert: proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 74, 128, and 139; in 1871 is a member of the federation commission, 128
Gomaperi: action of the 16th of July 1878 between the Hereros and Hottentots at, 299
Gouveia: performs important services for the Portuguese government in South Africa, 402 and 411; transactions in 1890 of, 403 and 404; in 1892 is killed in battle with the chief Makombi, 412
Graham, Mr. Robert: on the 24th of December 1864 becomes governor's deputy in British Kaffraria, 71; as collector of customs and a

member of the executive council in 1871 signs a memorandum in antagonism to the introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony, 118

Grahamstown: in 1864 the session of the Cape parliament is held in, 35; population in 1865, 42; a town hall including a memorial tower of the British settlers is erected in, 110

Grant, J. Murray: in January 1872 visits Nomansland on a commission, 68 and 69

Graving dock in Table Bay: in 1882 is completed, 143

Green, Mr. Frederick: assists the Hereros in their war of independence, 320; in May 1868 narrowly escapes being killed by Hottentots, 322

Grey college at Bloemfontein: particulars concerning, 16 and 17

Grey institute at Port Elizabeth: particulars concerning, 15 and 16

Grey library: particulars concerning, 19 and 20

Grey, Sir George: from July 1860 to August 1861 is governor of the Cape Colony for the second time, 1; accompanies Prince Alfred on a tour through South Africa, 2 to 5; in July 1861 sends all the troops in Capetown to Natal, where an attack by Ketshwayo is feared, 15; on the fifteenth of August 1861 leaves South Africa to assume the government of New Zealand, 18; presents a valuable library to the Cape Colony, 19 and 20

Griffith, Mr. Charles Duncan: on the 22nd of November 1865 holds an important meeting with the Tembus in Glen Grey, 51; in January 1872 visits Nomansland on a commission, 68 and 69; commands the colonial forces until December 1877 during the ninth Kaffir war, 156, 157, 158, and 174

Griffith, Mr. William Downes: on the 20th of March 1866 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony, 80; in 1871 draws up a memorandum in antagonism to the introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony, 117; is excused from drawing up the constitution amendment act in 1871, as he does not approve of it, 126; in December 1872, upon the introduction of responsible government, retires on pension, 147

Griqualand East: area of, 60; description of, ib.; is formed into a chief magistracy in December 1878 by the union of the districts of Maclear, Qumbu, Tsolo, Matatiele, Kokstad, Umzimkulu, Mount Frere, and Mount Ayliff, 191; laws and regulations of, 192; rebellion in 1880 of various clans in, 192 to 199; mode of administering justice in, 207; population in 1885, 207; revenue in 1885, ib.; statistics of education in 1904, 232

Griqualand West: on the 21st of October 1871 is annexed to the British dominions, 256; in July 1873 is erected into a crown colony, 279; it is divided into the electoral districts of Kimberley, Barkly, and Hay, ib; in 1877 the Cape parliament passes an act annexing it, 292; in 1878 the Griquas, Koranas, and Betshuana residing in it

rebel, 294 to 302; public debt of in 1877, 294; in October 1880 the annexation is completed, 303
Griqualand West land court: in 1875 is appointed, 289; proceedings of, 290
Griquas of Nicholas Waterboer: cause of their rebellion in 1878, 294 and 295
Gungunyana: in 1884 succeeds his father Umzila as chief of the Matshangana, 400; in 1894 sets the Portuguese government at defiance, 412; but in December 1895 is made a prisoner and is banished to Portugal, ib.; in December 1906 dies, 413
Guns: are sold freely to blacks at the diamond fields, 282 and 296; a large number are seized by the Free State authorities at Magersfontein, 282; the republican government is compelled by Sir Henry Barkly to restore them and to pay damages for the seizure, 283 and 284
Gwadiso, Pondo chief: conduct of, 249
Hahn, Rev. Dr. C. H., Rhenish missionary: in 1868 is almost alone at Otjimbingue, 322; in September 1870 draws up the treaty of peace between the Hereros and the Hottentots, 325; in 1882 induces some of the clans in Hereroland and Great Namaqualand to make peace, 345
Harbour works at Natal: particulars concerning, 356
Harding, John William: sensational theft of diamonds by, 271 and 272
Harding, Mr. Walter: on the 11th of April 1850 on behalf of the Natal government concludes a treaty with the Pondo chief Faku, 64
Hargreaves, Rev. Mr.: in 1872 acts as a peacemaker between the Xosa and Tembu tribes, 58; in October 1875 draws up the proposals of the Tembus to cede their country to the Cape government, 168; further mention of, 241
Harries, Mr. William Matthew: is the leader in the Cape parliament in the effort to separate the two provinces of the Cape Colony, 7 and 27
Hartebeest Hoek, farm of Mr. Andrew Bain near Bloemfontein: account of Prince Alfred's hunt at, 4
Hartebeest River, territory drained by: description of, 30
Hawthorn, Mr. George W.: in January 1879 becomes magistrate of Kokstad, 191; in October 1880 narrowly escapes from Matatiele at the beginning of the Basuto rebellion, 194
Hay, Lieutenant-General Charles Craufurd: from the 20th of May to the 31st of December 1870 is head of the Cape government, 109
Heads of the Cape government: succession of,
Sir George Grey, governor and high commissioner, 4th July 1860 to 15th August 1861;
Lieutenant-General Robert Henry Wynyard, acting governor, 15th August 1861 to 15th January 1862;
Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, governor and high commissioner, 15th January 1862 to 20th May 1870;

Lieutenant-General Charles Craufurd Hay, acting governor, 20th May to 31st December 1870;
Sir Henry Barkly, governor and high commissioner, 31st December 1870
Helmore, Rev. Holloway: in 1859 leads a mission party to Linyanti, and dies there with his wife and two of his children, 312 and 313
Henman, Mr.: on the 23rd of October 1880 is murdered by the Pondomsis, 195
Hereros, the: in 1840 are reduced to servitude by the Hottentots under Jonker Afrikaner, 316; in 1863 attempt to regain their independence, 319; at Omukaru gain a decisive victory over the Hottentots, 324; and in September 1870 peace is concluded between the belligerents, 325; in 1880 war with the Hottentots recommences, 343
Hermanus van Wyk, leader of a party of mixed breeds: in 1870 settles at Rehoboth in Great Namaqualand, 323
Heyman, Captain, of the British South Africa Company's police: in May 1891 defeats a Portuguese force near Andrada, 405
Hoachanas, Rhenish mission station: in 1866 is destroyed, 321
Höhne, Mr. F. K.: in September 1872 acts as president of the Orange Free State, 278
Hope, Mr. Hamilton: in July 1878 becomes magistrate of Qumbu, 190; acts bravely on the outbreak of rebellion, 194; on the 23rd of October 1880 is murdered by the Pondomsis, 195
Horned cattle: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43
Horses: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43
Hospital at Butterworth: particulars concerning, 164
Hottentots: number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 42
Hottentots in Great Namaqualand: particulars concerning, 317 and 318
House duty act: in 1870 is passed by the Cape parliament, 108
Idutywa, district of: in August 1858 a settlement of Bantu under a British magistrate is formed at, 45; until the end of 1864 it is regarded as a dependency of the crown colony of British Kaffraria, 45; in October 1879 it is annexed to the Cape Colony, 155
Illicit diamond buying: particulars concerning, 272 to 277, 280, 286, and 294
Immigrants from Great Britain: in 1862 continue to arrive in the Cape Colony, 22
Immigration into the Cape Colony from Germany and Holland: particulars concerning, 23
Imports of British Kaffraria: from 1862 to 1865, 76
Imports of the Cape Colony: from 1862 to 1867, 93; from 1868 to 1872, 151
Imports of Natal: from 1857 to 1872, 369
Income tax: rejection in 1869 by the Cape parliament of a proposal by the governor to levy, 100

Indian immigrants in Natal: particulars concerning, 353 *et seq.*
Inhambane: condition of in 1823, 379; condition of in 1834, 385; is destroyed by the Matshangana, ib.; condition of in 1899, 409
Innes, Mr. James Rose: is the last acting administrator of Griqualand West, 302
Insurrection in Tembuland in 1880: account of, 177
Isizi: meaning of the word, 55
Jackalsfontein, near Griquatown: skirmish on the 21st of May 1878 at, 298
Jackson, Mr. Maximilian James: in October 1868 is appointed special magistrate of the northern border, 97; after Sir Walter Currie's retirement conducts the operations against the insurgent Koranas, 99
Jacob Bois, Hottentot captain: in May 1868 attacks Englishmen near Walfish Bay and does much damage there, 322 and 323
Jacobus Izaak, captain of an immigrant Hottentot clan living at Beersheba in Great Namaqualand: mention of, 317, 324, and 334
Jameson, Dr. L. S.: is administrator of the British South Africa Company's territory, 404
Jane Davies, the: on the 26th of May 1872 is wrecked on the coast near East London, 150
Jan Jonker Afrikaner: in June 1863 succeeds his brother Christian as captain of a Hottentot clan, 319; in September 1865 attacks Otjimbingue, 320; at Omukaru sustains a crushing defeat from the Hereros, 324; on the 23rd of September 1870 concludes peace on humiliating terms, 325; tries to bring about a coalition of Hottentot clans to renew the war, 326; but does not succeed in that object, 339; further mention of, 334, 345, and 354
Jan Kivido, Korana captain: account of, 97; in 1869 is at war with the Cape Colony, 98; in November 1869 is captured and sent as a prisoner to Capetown, 99
Jantje, son of Mothibi, Batlapin chief: on the annexation of Griqualand West to the British dominions moves from Likhatlong to Manyiding, 295
Jenkins, Rev. Thomas: mention of, 66
Jojo, chief of the Xesibes: account of, 203; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69; in July 1878 is received as a British subject, 204
Jonker Afrikaner, Hottentot chief: in 1840 reduces the Herero tribe to servitude, 316; particulars concerning, 317
José Amaro, a black trader: in 1806-11 crosses the continent from Angola to Tete, 390
Joseph Fredericks: succeeds David Christian as captain of the Hottentot clan at Bethany in Great Namaqualand, 345; in 1883 sells territory to the German merchant Luderitz, ib.
Josiah Jenkins, an educated nephew of the Pondo chief Umqikela: acts as the chief's secretary and gives him bad advice, 217, 228, and

229; during the insurrection of 1878 endeavours to assist the Griquas, 189; in November 1885 plans an attack upon William Nota, 224
Journeys across the African continent: account of, 390 and 391

Kaffir labour: cost of in 1872, 132
Kamaherero: in 1864 is elected paramount chief of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu clans, 320; conducts himself in a despotic and irritating manner, 327; in June 1874 applies to Sir Henry Barkly for assistance, 328; in August 1880 issues orders for a general massacre of Hottentots, 343; further particulars concerning, 331, 332, 335, 336, 339, 341, 342, and 343; in June 1882 makes peace with the southern Hottentot clans, 345
Kaoko, the: description of, 333
Kanye: is the chief kraal of the Bangwaketse tribe, 305
Karel Hendrik, captain of the Veldschoendragers: mention of, 324
Keate, Lieutenant-Governor: is almost constantly at variance with the legislative council of Natal, 363 and 364
Kentani, district of: in September 1878 is formed, 161; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 166
Ketshwayo, son of the Zulu chief Panda: particulars concerning, 13; in May 1861 is acknowledged by the Natal government as lawful heir to the chieftainship, 14; in July 1861 causes a panic in Natal by massing his troops on the border, *ib.*; but a few weeks later withdraws his regiments and declares he has no hostile intentions, 15; after his father's death in 1872 conducts himself peaceably towards Natal, 372
Khari, chief of the Bamangwato: is killed in battle with a Baroswi clan, 306
Kimberley diamond mine: description of in 1872, 271
Kimberley, town of: in July 1873 receives its present name, 279
King, Mr T. A.: in December 1878 becomes magistrate of Butterworth, 161
Kiva, Galeka chief: on the 22nd of December 1877 crosses the Kei and appeals to the Gaikas for aid, which results in their rebellion, 159
Klaas Lukas, Korana captain: in 1871 commits depredations on the northern border, 100
Kleinschmidt, Rev. Mr., Rhenish missionary: is driven from his station and dies of hardship, 321
Knysna: in 1867 is visited by Prince Alfred, 95; in February 1869 sustains great damage from fire, 104 and 105
Kokstad, district of: in March 1875 is added to the British dominions, 186; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192
Kokstad, town of: description of in 1885, 207
Korana clans on the northern border of the Cape Colony: account of, 30 and 96 *et seq.*

Kowie Harbour Improvement Company: in July 1870 is dissolved, 111
Kreli, paramount Xosa chief: in February 1858 is driven over the Bashee into Bomvanaland, 44; gradually recovers importance, 47; is offered a large tract of land beyond the Umtata, ib.; which he declines to accept, ib.; in May and June 1864 a panic is created on the colonial frontier by a rumour that he intends to attack the police, 48; in August 1864 has a portion of the territory between the Kei and the Bashee restored to him, 49; in 1875 refers to the colonial government a charge of murder of a Galeka woman by Gangelizwe, 168; carries on war with Gangelizwe, 57 and 58; in 1876 has about twelve thousand warriors at his command, 155; declines to meet Governor Sir Bartle Frere at Butterworth in September 1877 to try to prevent war, 157; on the 5th of October 1877 is proclaimed by Sir Bartle Frere deposed from all power and authority as a chief, and his country is taken from him, 158; on the 7th of February 1878 is present at the battle of Kentani, 160; has a location assigned to him in the district of Elliotdale, 228; in November 1886 offers to assist the government against the Pondos, 240
Kuisip River: description of, 331
Kuruman mission station: in 1878 is plundered and threatened with destruction by the Batlapin and Batlaro, 299; is relieved by a volunteer force from Kimberley, ib.

Lake Ngami: in 1849 is discovered by the reverend Dr. Livingstone with Messrs. Oswell and Murray, 309
Land commission of Griqualand West: account of, 288 and 289
Land measure of the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 6 and 7
Langalibalele: rebellion of in Natal, 183 and 184
Lanyon, Major William Owen: in 1875 becomes administrator of Griqualand West, 290; in March 1879 is removed to the Transvaal, 302
Leary, Mr. J. Glen; in March 1894 becomes magistrate of Ngqeleni, 254
Leary, Mr. W. Power: in 1894 becomes magistrate of Umsikaba, 254
Lebenya, Basuto chief: in 1867 moves into Nomansland, 68; where in 1869 he has a location assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ib.; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69; in October 1880 goes into rebellion, 197; is obliged to abandon Matatiele and retreat to Basutoland, 199; after the suppression of the rebellion he is not allowed to return, ib.
Legislative council of the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 141; in 1874 the colony is divided into seven provinces for the election of members of, 142
Legislative council of Griqualand West: constitution of, 279 and 280; on the 30th of September 1880 meets for the last time, 303
Lehana, Batlokua chief: in 1869 has a location in Nomansland assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, 68; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69

Letshulatebe, chief of the Batawana: in 1860 treats a distressed missionary party very kindly, 313

Levey, Mr. Charles J.: in 1869 acts for a short time as Fingo agent, 60; in July 1878 becomes magistrate of Southeyville, 172

Lewanika: in 1877 becomes chief of the Barotsi tribe, 315

Lewis, Mr. Robert: in May 1868 narrowly escapes being killed by Hottentots, 322

Libode, district of: in March 1894 is formed, 254

Liefeldt, Mr. M. W.: in August 1876 becomes magistrate of Matatiele, 189; in October 1880 narrowly escapes from Matatiele at the beginning of the Basuto rebellion, 194

Lighthouse in Simon's Bay: on the 16th of September 1861 is opened for use, 11

Lighthouse on Robben Island: on the 1st of January 1865 is opened for use, 10

Lighthouse on the Bluff of Natal: in January 1867 is opened for use, 356

Limpopo River: in 1870 is traced for the first time by Captain Elton along its central course, 396 and 397

von Linsingen, Captain: in November 1880 with four other Europeans is killed in Fingoland, 162

Lithako: action of the 24th of July 1878 at, 300

Livingstone, Rev. Dr.: in 1849 discovers Lake Ngami, 309; in 1851 visits Linyanti and discovers the Zambesi river in the centre of the continent, ib.; in May 1853 visits Linyanti the second time, 310; between November 1853 and September 1855 travels to St. Paul de Loanda and back to Linyanti, and from November 1855 to July 1856 from Linyanti to Kilimane, 311: in August 1860 reaches Linyanti again from the eastern coast, 313; is the first European to cross Africa from coast to coast, 391

Lobengula, chief of the Matabele: mention of, 399 and 400

Locations for Bantu in Natal: particulars concerning, 361; area of, ib.

Lourenço Marques: population of in 1878, 386; condition of in 1899, 398 and 399

Luderitz, Mr. F. A. E.: in 1883 establishes a trading station at Angra Pequena, 345; in May 1883 purchases a small tract of land round the bay from Joseph Fredericks, captain of Bethany, 345; in August purchases a much larger tract from the same captain, ib.; applies to the German government for protection, ib.; claims the guano islands off the coast, but unsuccessfully, 348

Ludidi, Hlubi chief: in 1869 has a location in Nomansland assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, 68; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69; after the rebellion of 1880 is located in the district of Qumbu, 200

Mackenzie, Rev. John: in 1860 at Lake Ngami rescues the survivors of the ill-fated Makololo mission, 314

Maclean, Lieutenant-Colonel John: in December 1864 is transferred from British Kaffraria to Natal, 71
Maclear, district of: in November 1875 is formed, 190; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192; settlement of after the rebellion of 1880, 201
Macmahon, Marshal, president of the French republic: as arbitrator in 1875 awards Delagoa Bay to the Portuguese, 396
Macrorie, Rev. Dr. W. K.: in January 1869 is consecrated bishop of Maritzburg, 367
Magatyana, petty Pondo chief: quarrel of the Bacas with, 237
Magersfontein: seizure of guns and ammunition by the Free State authorities at, 282
Mail service with England: in 1864 begins to be conducted twice a month by different routes, 38; in April 1868 is established bimonthly by the Atlantic route, 96
Maize growing in Natal: particulars concerning, 358
Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketse: is killed in battle with the Makololo, 305
Makasane, chief of a Batonga tribe: in August 1823 cedes to Great Britain a large tract of land at Delagoa Bay, 377; further mention of, 382
Makaula, Baca chief: in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69; in March 1876 is received as a British subject, 188; conducts himself well, 248; in September 1906 dies, 189
Maki, chief counsellor of Kreli: is accused of being a sorcerer, and is obliged to flee to Idutywa for safety, 155
Makololo mission: disastrous fate of, 312 to 314
Makololo tribe: account of the, 304 to 315; in 1865 is utterly exterminated, 315
Makombi: in 1892 rebels against the Portuguese, but is vanquished, 412
Makwai, Basuto chief: in 1867 moves into Nomansland, 68; where in 1869 he has a location assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, ib.; in October 1880 goes into rebellion, 197; is obliged to abandon Matatiele and retreat to Basutoland, 199; after the suppression of the rebellion he is not allowed to return, ib.
Mamotshisane, daughter of Sebetoané: by her father's wish becomes at his death head of the Makololo tribe, but gives the chieftainship to her half-brother Sekeletu, 310
Manikusa, chief of the Matshangana: career of, 377, 384, 385, and 386
Mann, Dr. R. J., superintendent of education in Natal: in 1865 is sent to England to endeavour to procure immigrants, 351; but meets with very little success, 352
Mapasa, great son of Buku: in 1876 is not on good terms with his cousin Kreli, 156; at the commencement of the war of 1877

abandons Kreli and with a portion of his clan is removed by the colonial government to a location west of the Kei, 157
Maritzburg: description of in 1872, 368
Mashonaland: in 1890 is occupied by the British South Africa Chartered Company, 401
Massacre of Hottentots by Hereros in August 1880: account of, 343
Matanzima, Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 54 and 55; in September 1878 consents to come under the Cape government, 173
Matatiele, district of: in March 1875 is added to the British dominions, 186; in October 1879 it is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192; settlement of after the rebellion of 1880, 201
Matshangana tribe: career of the, 384, 385, 386, 393, 394, 400, 402, and 412
Maweva, son of Manikusa, chief of the Matshangana tribe: in 1862 contests for the chieftainship with his brother Umzila, but is defeated and obliged to flee, 393
Mayeta, chief of a Batonga tribe: in March 1823 cedes to Great Britain a tract of land along the Tembe river, 375; further mention of, 382
Menziwe, Fingo chief in Tembuland: particulars concerning, 56; in August 1875 flees with his clan from Tembuland to Idutywa, 167; is restored to his former residence by the colonial police, 168
Merriman, Mr. J. X.: proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 108, 137, and 268
Merriman, Mr. T. R.: in February 1878 becomes magistrate of Idutywa, 161
Migration of farmers from the South African Republic to the western coast: account of, 327, 328, 339, 340, and 341
Mokwasele, chief of the Bakwena tribe: is killed by some of his subjects, 305
Molteno, Mr. J. C.: is the leader in the Cape parliament of the party in favour of responsible government, 32, 33, 72, 92, 102, 103, 108, 121, 125, 126, 137, 268, 292, and 329; on the 29th of November 1872 becomes the first prime minister of the Cape Colony under responsible government, 146
Moni, Bomvana chief: particulars concerning, 49; aids the Galekas in their distress, 174; in the war of 1877-8 is neutral, 174; in January 1878 asks to be received as a British subject, 175; in February an arrangement to this effect is concluded, 176
Monteiro, Major José Maria Correia: travels of, 390
Mooimeisjesfontein: skirmish between the Free State police and a party of Basuto at, 285
Morris, Rev. James: in October 1880 leads a force to the relief of Europeans in great danger at Tsolo, 197
Moselekatse, chief of the Matabele: nearly exterminates the Bang-

waketse tribe, 305; and also the Bakwena, 306; after his flight from the emigrant farmers attacks the Makololo, 308; further mention of, 399

Mosenthal Brothers, of Port Elizabeth: are successful in obtaining pure Angora goats for breeding purposes in the Cape Colony, 12

Moses Witbooi, captain of an immigrant Hottentot clan in Great Namaqualand: mention of, 317 and 334.

Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe: in 1860 meets Prince Alfred at Aliwal North, 3; has had a fictitious pedigree given to him recently, 209

Mount Ayliff, district of: in 1878 becomes part of the British dominions, 202; when it is united to the chief magistracy of Griqualand East, ib.; in 1879 it is invaded by the Pondos and a large portion of it is laid waste, 205; in April 1883 its boundaries are defined by a commission, 205 and 206; on the 25th of October 1884 a Pondo army invades the district, but on the following day is beaten back with heavy loss, 220; in March 1886 it is again invaded by the Pondos, who are repulsed with loss, 232; on the 4th of August of the same year still another invasion takes place, with the same result, 234; and in the following October it is once more invaded by a strong Pondo army, 238; in October 1886 it is annexed to the Cape Colony, 206; is defended by a large military force, ib.; in December 1886 the Eastern Pondos agree to accept a solatium for its loss, 246

Mount Fletcher, district of: in 1882 is formed of part of the former district of Maclear, 201

Mount Frere, district of: in March 1876 becomes part of the British dominions, 188; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192

Mozambique Company: particulars concerning, 408 and 409

Mpezini: succeeds his father Swangendaba as chief of the Angoni, 384

Mpololo: succeeds Sekeletu as chief of the Makololo, 314

Mqanduli, district of: in March 1876 is formed, 171; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180

Musgrave, Major Benjamin D'Urban: in January 1880 is appointed British resident at Okahandja, 341; in November 1880 is withdrawn and is stationed at Walfish Bay, 344

Mutual protection association of King-Williamstown: account of, 79

Nagel, Lieutenant, a German in Pondoland: mention of, 249

Namaquas: in 1880 renew the war with the Hereros, 343

Naras, edible fruit: abounds at Walfish Bay, 330 and 331

Natal, colony of:
area in 1866, 360; in 1907, ib.
attempts to obtain British immigrants, 350 *et seq.*
banking institutions, 365
Bantu locations, 361

coffee planting, 357
commercial crisis of 1865, 365
construction of a line of telegraph, 366
cotton growing, 357
courts of justice, 359
customs duties, 355
definition of the new boundary, 360
ecclesiastical strife, 366 and 367
erection of a lighthouse on the Bluff, 356
exports from 1857 to 1872, 370 and 371
extension of the colony to the Umtamvuna river, 359
friction between Lieutenant-Governor Keate and the legislative council, 363 and 364
harbour works, 356
imports from 1857 to 1872, 369
introduction of Indians, 353
list of the heads of government from 1857 to 1872, 349
outbreak of redwater among cattle in 1871, 358
particulars concerning the Bantu in, 360 *et seq.*
population in 1872, 368
production of wheat, maize, etc., 358
public debt in 1872, 369
rebellion of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele in 1873, 183 and 184
revenue, 369
schools, 358
sugar planting, 357
supplementary charter of 1872, 364
the first railway, 356
the great flood of August 1868, 356
trade with the diamond fields, 366
volunteers in 1872, 369
western boundary as fixed in 1862 by the high commissioner, 67

Natal Land and Colonisation Company: particulars concerning, 350

Natal Legislative Council: on the 18th of October 1886 the legislative council passes a resolution in favour of the union of Pondoland with the colony, 236

Ncapayi, Baca chief: particulars concerning, 63

Ndamasi, right hand son of the Pondo chief Faku: particulars concerning, 62; in 1867 claims to be independent of his brother Umqikela in Western Pondoland, 212; in 1869 refuses to cede Port St. John's to Sir Philip Wodehouse, 213; in October 1873 objects to certain acts of the colonial government, 183; on the 29th of August 1876 dies, 213

Nehemiah Moshesh: proceedings of in Nomansland (now Griqualand East), 65, 67, and 68; conduct of, and dealings with in 1875 and 1876, 187 and 188

New Barmen, Rhenish mission station: in 1866 is plundered, 321; on the 10th of November 1880 is attacked by the Hottentots, who are driven back on the following day, 344
New Gelderland, in Natal: account of the settlement of, 352
Ngokweni, Bantu chief: account of, 383
Ngqeleni, district of: in March 1894 is formed, 254
Ngubo, an enemy of Europeans: becomes chief counsellor of Kreli, 155
Ninth Kaffir war: on the 3rd of August 1877 two petty Galeka chiefs are badly bruised in a quarrel at a Fingo wedding, 156; three days afterwards four large parties of Galekas cross the border and sweep off the stock from several Fingo kraals, ib.; some detachments of the frontier armed and mounted police are sent to protect the Fingos, ib.; on the 26th of September 1877 a strong Galeka force attacks and defeats the police at Guadana, 157; on the 29th and again on the 30th this force attacks the police camp at Ibeka, but on both occasions is beaten off, ib.; volunteers from the Cape Colony proceed to the front, and large Fingo and Tembu contingents take the field, ib.; on the 9th of October the Galekas are defeated in two engagements, 158; on the 22nd of the same month the battle of Lusizi is won by the colonial forces, ib.; the Galeka army is pursued to Pondoland, and then in the belief that the war is over the volunteers are disbanded, ib.; the Galekas, however, having placed their women, children, and cattle in safety, return and renew the war, ib.; on the 2nd of December they attack a colonial force at Holland's Shop, but are beaten off, 158; the 24th regiment, part of the 88th, and a naval brigade are then sent across the Kei, and Colonel Glynn, of the 24th, is placed in command, 159; most of the Rarabe clans west of the Kei now rise to assist the Galekas, ib.; a good deal of skirmishing takes place east of the Kei, in which the Galekas are invariably worsted, ib.; on the 7th of February 1878 the decisive battle of Kentani is fought, when the Galekas are defeated, and immediately afterwards give up the contest, abandon their territory, and cross over the Bashee, 159 and 160
Nomansland: in December 1878 the name is exchanged for Griqualand East, 191
Nomtsheketshe, Baca chief: in 1882 is located in the district of Mount Frere, 202
Nonesi, Tembu chieftainess: particulars concerning, 50, 51, 52, and 55
Northern border magistrate: in 1868 is first appointed, 97
Northern border police: in 1868 is first enrolled, 97
Nqamakwe, district of: in September 1878 is formed, 161; as part of Fingoland in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 155
Nquiliso, son of Ndamasi: on the 29th of August 1876 succeeds his father as chief of Western Pondoland, 213; on the 17th of July 1878 cedes Port St. John's to the government of the Cape Colony,

213 and 214; in the rebellion of 1880 assists the Europeans, 197; in March 1894 cedes Western Pondoland to Great Britain, 253
Nyaude: in 1844 revolts against Portuguese rule and establishes himself as a freebooter on the Zambesi, 410

Oba, Gaika chief: mention of, 52
Omukaru: decisive battle between the Hereros and Hottentots at, 324
Orpen, Mr. Joseph M.: in July 1873 is appointed British resident in Nomansland, 182; takes an active part in the suppression of the rebellion of Langalibalele, 184; establishes the authority of the Cape government over the Pondomsis, 185; in October 1874 has Adam Kok's territory added to his charge, 186; in April 1875 resigns and leaves the territory, 190
Ostriches: are domesticated in the Cape Colony, 40 and 41
Otavé copper deposits: mention of, 333
Otjimbingue, Rhenish mission station: description of, 318; on the 17th of June 1863 is attacked by the Hottentots under Christian Afrikaner, 319; in September 1865 is attacked by the Hottentots under Jan Jonker Afrikaner, 320; in December 1867 is again attacked by Jan Jonker Afrikaner, 321; after which the chief Kamaherero removes to Okahandja, and the station for some time is almost deserted, 322
Oudtshoorn: in October 1869 sustains much damage from heavy floods, 105
Ovaherero: see Hereros
Ovambanderu: see Hereros
Owen, Captain William Fitzwilliam, of the royal navy: towards the close of 1822 visits Delagoa Bay, 375; in March 1823 obtains from a Bantu chief a cession of land along the Tembe river, 375; and in August of the same year obtains a much larger cession, 377; in October 1823 reports upon the condition of South-Eastern Africa, 378

Paarl, town of: population in 1865, 42
Palgrave, Mr. William Coates: in May 1868 narrowly escapes being killed by Hottentots, 322; in 1876 is sent as a special commissioner to the Hereros and Namaquas, 329; makes extensive investigations, 330 to 334; in 1877 is again sent to Hereroland, 335; and in February 1879 sends in a report of what he has done, 336; in September and October 1879 accompanies an expedition sent to relieve a party of distressed farmers, 340; in January 1880 is appointed commissioner to the tribes north of the Orange river, 342; on the outbreak of war in August 1880 is recalled, 344; in 1884 is sent for the fourth time on a mission to Hereroland and Great Namaqualand, 346
Pali, chief of the Amatshezi: in 1885 causes trouble by stealing cattle from the Western Pondos, 226; is nominally a vassal of the Tembu

tribe, but in reality is independent, 227; a combined European and Bantu force is sent against him, when he submits, and on the 30th of May 1886 is received as a British subject and placed under the jurisdiction of the resident magistrate of Mqanduli, 228

Panda, chief of the Zulus: particulars concerning, 13 and 14; in 1872 dies, 372

Patekile, chief of the Imizizi: assists Umhlangaso in his rebellion against Sigcawu, 251; in 1894 submits to a colonial force, and is fined two hundred head of cattle, 254

Pattle, Mr. T. P.: in September 1877 is appointed assistant magistrate at Butterworth, 160; in December 1878 becomes magistrate of Tsomo, 161

Piet Rooy, Korana captain: account of, 97; in 1869 is at war with the Cape Colony, 98; in November 1869 is captured and sent to Capetown as a prisoner, 99

Pofadder, Korana captain: account of, 97; in 1869 aids the colonial forces against the other Korana captains, 98

Pondoland: on the 5th of January 1885 a British protectorate over the whole coast is proclaimed by the high commissioner, 221; in March 1894 becomes part of the British dominions, 253; in September 1894 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 254; population of in 1894, 254; area of, 255; statistics of education in 1904, 232

Pondo tribe: particulars concerning, 62, 63, and 64; cannot now be traced to its origin, 210; but was certainly formed of fragments of many others welded together some time about the beginning of the seventeenth century, ib.; is more backward in civilisation than either the Xosa or the Tembu, 209; in 1878 is in a state of disruption, 211

Pondomsi tribe: account of, 62 and 63; see Umditshwa and Umhlonhlo

Population: of British Kaffraria in 1861, 18; of Western Pondoland in 1894, 254; of Eastern Pondoland in 1894, 254; of the whole territory between the river Kei and Natal in 1904, 255

Port Alfred: in August 1860 receives its present name, 6; in 1870 the harbour works are transferred to the government, 111

Port Elizabeth: position of in 1862, 27; population in 1865, 42

Porter, Mr. William: on the 20th of March 1866 retires from the office of attorney-general of the Cape Colony, 80; in 1871 frames the constitution amendment act, 126; in the same year is a member of the federation commission, 130; proceedings in parliament of, 137 and 145; declines to form a ministry under responsible government, 146

Port Frances: in August 1866 is renamed Port Alfred, 6

Port Grosvenor, a landing place on the coast of Eastern Pondoland: on the 2nd of March 1885 is the scene of an event that closes it to trade, 222

Port St. John's: is situated at the mouth of the Umzimvubu river, 211; its control is therefore regarded by the colonial government as a

matter of importance, ib.; during Faku's lifetime it is frequented by traders from Natal, 212; on the 17th of July 1870 it is ceded by the chief Nquiliso to the government of the Cape Colony, 213 and 214; on the 31st of August the British flag is formally hoisted by General Thesiger, and a garrison is stationed at Davis' drift, 214 and 215; on the 15th of September 1884 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 216; population of at the time, ib.; trade of, and customs duties collected at, 217; in December 1886 the Eastern Pondos agree to receive a solatium for its loss, 246

Portuguese Chartered Fishing Company: from 1824 to 1835 has a monopoly of the commerce of Delagoa Bay, 383

Portuguese South Africa: condition of in 1899, 413

Prazos south of the Zambesi: condition of, 387

Pretorius, M. W., president of the Orange Free State: in 1860 has an interview with Prince Alfred at Winburg, 4

Price, Rev. Roger: in 1859 proceeds to Linyanti as a missionary, loses his wife and child by death, and with great difficulty gets away, 312 to 314

Prince Alfred: in 1860 visits South Africa for the first time, 2; makes a tour overland from Port Elizabeth to Durban, 2 to 5; on the 17th of September 1860 tilts the first load of stone in the great breakwater in Table Bay, 5; on the following day lays the foundation stone of the Sailors' Home in Capetown and inaugurates the public library in its new building, 5; in 1867 visits South Africa the second time, 95; in 1868 the third time, 111; and in 1870 the fourth time, ib.

Probart, Mr. S. A.: in December 1875 visits Tembuland as special commissioner, 169; in January 1876 selects a site for a town to be called Umtata, 182

Protectorate over the coast of Pondoland: on the 5th of January 1885 is proclaimed by the high commissioner, 221

Public debt of the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 109

Public debt of Natal in 1872, 369

Qeya: see Gangelizwe

Qipu, chief of the Amanci: conduct of, 241

Qumbu, district of: in June 1876 is formed, 190; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192; settlement of after the rebellion of 1880, 200

Railways in the Cape Colony: in May 1862 the line is opened from Capetown to Stellenbosch, 29; in March 1863 to Paarl, ib.; in November 1863 to Wellington, ib.; in December 1864 to Wynberg, 11 and 29; particulars concerning the line from Port Nolloth to Ookiep, 104; in January 1872 a line from Port Elizabeth to Uitenhage is commenced by a Company, 132; in 1874 it is purchased

by the government and completed, ib.; in January 1873 the line from Capetown to Wellington is purchased by the government, 144; in 1873 extensions are authorised from Wellington to Worcester and from the Zwartkops to the Bushman's river, also a survey from East London to Queenstown, 144

Railway in Natal: particulars concerning the first, 356

Railway from Lourenço Marques to the border of the South African Republic: particulars concerning, 398

Railway from Beira inland, 407 and 408

Railways: general extension of, 398

von Raven, Captain: in August 1884 by order of the German emperor proclaims a German protectorate over the coast of Hereroland, 347

Raxoti (afterwards called Matanzima) Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 50

Read, Mr. Walter H.: in October 1878 becomes magistrate of Mount Ayliff, 205

Rebellion of the Griquas, Koranas, and Betshuana in Griqualand West in 1878: account of, 294 to 302

Reduction of the garrison of the Cape Colony: particulars concerning, 87, 91, 92, and 148

Redwater: in 1871 causes great destruction of cattle in Natal, 358.

Rehoboth: the Rhenish mission station at is plundered and destroyed, 321

Relief works: in 1864 are opened at Tulbagh Kloof, 39

Removal of the seat of government from Capetown to some place in the eastern province: efforts to bring about, 9, 37, and 141

Reply to the Free State protest against the annexation of Griqualand West to the British dominions, 257

Responsible government: efforts to introduce in the Cape Colony, 32 and 33; debate in 1871 in the Cape parliament concerning the introduction of, 123 *et seq.*; in 1872 is introduced in the Cape Colony, 146. See Constitution.

Revenue of British Kaffraria: in 1861, 18

Revenue of the Cape Colony: from 1862 to 1867, 36; from 1868 to 1872, 152

Revenue of Natal in 1872, 369

Revolt of Griquas in 1878 under Smith Pommer and Adam Muis: account of, 189

de Rezende, João, agent of the Mozambique Company at Andrada: mention of, 401 and 404

Rhenish missions in Great Namaqualand and Hereroland: particulars concerning, 317 to 319 and 321

Rhodes, Cecil John: mention of, 352

Ribeiro, Dionisio Antonio, captain of the fort at Lourenço Marques: in October 1833 is murdered by the Matshangana and his whole force perishes, 384

Riots at the diamond fields: account of, 267, 273, 286, and 287
Robosi: see Lewanika
Rodé valley: in December 1886 is purchased from Umqikela by the Cape government, 207 and 247

Sailors' Home in Capetown: on the 18th of September 1860 the foundation stone is laid by Prince Alfred, 5; on the 25th of April 1862 it is opened for use, ib.
Sandile, Gaika chief: accompanies Prince Alfred in the *Euryalus* from Durban to Capetown, 5; mention of, 52; in December 1877 rises in rebellion against the colonial government, 159; on the 7th of February 1878 is present at the battle of Kentani, 160; on the 29th of May 1878 is killed in a skirmish, 181
Santa Carolina, island of: is occupied by the Portuguese, 387.
Scanlen, Mr. Thomas C.: proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 137 and 141
Scheppmansdorp, Rhenish mission station: in May 1868 is plundered by Hottentots, 323
Schering, Captain: on the 7th of August 1884 by order of the German emperor proclaims a German protectorate over the coast of Great Namaqualand, 347
Schmelen, Rev. Mr.: in 1814 founds the mission station Bethany in Great Namaqualand, 317
Schools in the Cape Colony in 1872: particulars concerning, 149
Schools in Natal: particulars concerning, 358
Scott, Rev. John H.: in August 1876 becomes magistrate of Mqanduli, 171
Sea Snake, the: on the 19th of September 1869 is wrecked in Algoa Bay, 105
Sebetoané, chief of the Makololo tribe: account of, 304 to 309; obliges the people he has subdued to learn the dialect that he speaks, 307 and 308; to protect himself from the Matabele settles among the swamps along the river Tshobe, 308; where in 1851 he is visited by the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, 309; in 1851 dies, ib.
Sekeletu: in 1852 becomes chief of the Makololo tribe, 310; assists the reverend Dr. Livingstone to make his journeys to the western and the eastern coast of Africa, 311; treats a mission party in a cruel manner, 313; in 1863 is murdered, 314
Sekhomi, son of Khari: on his father's death becomes chief of the Bamangwato, 306; is made a prisoner by the Makololo, but after a time escapes, and gathers the remnant of his tribe together at Shoshong, 307
Selous, Frederick Courteney: mention of, 401
Sena, condition of, 385; is seized by the Matshangana, ib.; but some of the Portuguese inhabitants who fled are allowed to return on condition of paying yearly tribute, ib.; condition of in 1899, 409

Separation league : particulars concerning, 7
Separation of the eastern province from the western, and its establishment as a distinct colony : efforts to bring about, 7 to 9, 10, 27, and 141
Sepopa : is the leader of the Barotsi in their war of independence, 315 ; in 1877 he is murdered, ib.
Sessions of the Cape parliament, alternate in the west and the east : particulars concerning, 27, 34, and 37
Setsheli, son of Mokwasele : is raised to the chieftainship of the Bakwena by Sebetoané, 306
Settlement of the districts of Maclear, Qumbu, Tsolo, and Matatiele after the rebellion of 1880, 199 to 202
Shaw, Mr. Matthew B. : in June 1876 becomes magistrate of Qumbu, 190 ; on the 1st of October 1878 becomes magistrate of Kentani
Sheep : number of in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43
Shepstone, Mr. Theophilus : in 1861 visits Zululand as agent of the Natal government, and recognises Ketshwayo as lawful heir of Panda, 14 ; (Sir Theophilus) in 1886 declines to interfere in Pondo affairs without the consent of the Cape government, 236
Shepstone, Mr. W. G. B. : from May 1860 to September 1861 is special magistrate at Idutywa, 45
Sidoyi, Hlangweni chief : in 1878 assists the Cape government during the Griqua insurrection, 189 ; and again in the rebellion of 1880, 198
Sigcawu, son of Kreli : particulars concerning, 56
Sigcawu, son of Umqikela : in February 1888 is chosen to succeed his father as chief of the Eastern Pondos, 248 ; tries to keep in favour with the Cape colonial government, 251 ; in March 1894 cedes Eastern Pondoland to Great Britain, 253
Silk : experiments in the production of in the Cape Colony, 112
Siyolo, chief of a clan of the Imidushane : in the rebellion of 1878 is killed, 181
Siyoyo, chief of the Amacwera : dealings with, 204
Slang river settlement : account of, 56
Slave trade from Portuguese South Africa : particulars concerning, 374, 378, 379, 387, 388, and 410
Smith, Mr. Charles A. : in 1871 is a member of the federation commission, 128 ; proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 138 ; in November 1872 becomes commissioner of crown lands and public works under responsible government, 147
Sofala : condition of in 1823, 379 ; condition of in 1836, 385 ; is destroyed by the Matshangana, ib. ; condition of in 1899, 409
Soga, Rev. Tiyo : accompanies Prince Alfred in the *Euryalus* from Durban to Capetown, 5
Solomon, Mr. Saul : proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 72, 73, 82, 92, 96, 108, 137, 145, 268, and 270

Sotshangana, Bantu chief: see Matshangana tribe
de Sousa, Manuel Antonio: see Gouveia
Southey, Mr. Richard: in July 1864 succeeds Mr. Rawson as colonial secretary, 50; in 1871 signs a memorandum in antagonism to the introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony, 118; declines to form a ministry under responsible government, 146; draws up a reply to the Free State protest against the annexation of Griqualand West to the British dominions, 257; in January 1873 becomes administrator of Griqualand West, 147 and 278; after July has the title of lieutenant-governor, 280; in August 1875 retires from office, 290
Southeyville, district of: in July 1878 is formed, 172; in 1880 the office and residency are destroyed by rebels, 177; in May 1881 the greater part is formed into a new district named St. Mark's, and the remainder is added to Cala, 179
Spence, Captain John: acquires extensive concessions in Great Namaqualand, 347
Sprigg, Major Howard: in 1894 becomes magistrate of Bizana, 254
Sprigg, Mr. (later Sir) J. Gordon: in 1864 is the leader of the party in British Kaffraria in favour of annexation to the Cape Colony, 70; proceedings in the Cape parliament of, 101, 137, 270, 293, and 302
Stanford, Mr. A. H.: in March 1894 becomes magistrate of Libode, 254
Stanford, Mr. R. W.: in May 1881 becomes magistrate at St. Mark's, 179
Stanford, Mr. Walter E.: in April 1876 becomes magistrate of Engcobo, 170; in November and December 1886 conducts negotiations with Umqikela, 240 *et seq.*; in March 1894 conducts the negotiations for the cession of Eastern Pondoland to Great Britain, 253
Statue of Sir George Grey in Capetown: on the 10th of November 1864 is unveiled, 20
St. Mark's, district of: in May 1881 is formed, 179; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180
Stockenstrom, Advocate: in 1875 is appointed judge of the land court of Griqualand West, 289; is compelled to throw out grants by Nicholas Waterboer, 290
Stokwé, son of Ndlela, vassal Tembu chief: particulars concerning, 54; in September 1878 consents to come under colonial authority, 173; in 1880 rises in rebellion, but is driven from his territory and thoroughly subdued, 177
Stokwé, son of Tshali, chief of the Amavundlé: in 1877 joins the Galekas in war against the Europeans, 171; is driven from his location and made a prisoner, 172
Strachan, Mr. Donald: is magistrate at Umzimkulu, 186; as a representative of Adam Kok arranges in February 1875 for the transfer of the Griquas to colonial rule, 186; in October 1880 narrowly

escapes from Matatiele at the beginning of the Basuto rebellion, 194; in 1879 with a large force of Bantu assists the Xesibes against the Pondos, 205; during the rebellion of 1880 commands a large body of Bantu warriors devoted to him, 198; further mention of, 244

Streatfeild, Mr. F. N., C. M. G.: in January 1879 becomes magistrate of Willowvale, 162

Succession duty: in 1864 is first imposed in the Cape Colony, 35

Sugar planting in Natal: account of, 357

Supreme court of Natal: constitution of, 359

Sutherland, Dr., surveyor-general of Natal: in March 1862 visits Nomansland to try to arrange a boundary with Sir Walter Currie, 67

Swakop River: description of, 318 and 331

Swallow, her Majesty's ship: in October 1879 examines the coast of Hereroland, 340

Swangendaba, chief of the Angoni: career of, 377 and 383

Swellendam, village of: on the 17th of May 1865 is nearly destroyed by fire, 78

Tabankulu, district of: in 1894 is formed, 254

Tambookie location west of the Indwe; see Glen Grey

Telegraph, electric: since the 1st of October 1864 has been open between East London and Simonstown, 11; in 1873 this line is purchased by the government and a line from Fort Beaufort to the diamond fields is commenced, 144 and 145.

Tembuland, chief magistracy of: in December 1878 is finally formed, 176; mode of government of, 180; population in 1885 of, 181; maintenance of schools in, ib.; statistics of education in 1904, 232

Tembuland commission of 1882: particulars concerning, 178

Tembu tribe: particulars concerning, 56; in December 1875 the main branch become British subjects, 169

Terms of cession of Tembuland Proper to the colonial government, 168 and 169

Territory between the river Kei and the border of Natal: particulars concerning, 25 and 35; is abandoned by the British government, 44 *et seq.*

Tete: in 1853 is plundered and partly destroyed by the rebel Bonga, 410; condition of in 1899, 411 and 412

Theological seminary (of the Dutch reformed church) at Stellenbosch: on the 1st of November 1859 is opened for use, 17

Thesiger, General Frederick, later Lord Chelmsford: on the 4th of March 1878 succeeds Sir Arthur Cunynghame as commander of the imperial forces in South Africa, 214; on the 31st of August 1878 hoists the British flag at Port St. John's, ib.; selects a site for a fort, and leaves a garrison there, 215

Thompson, Mr. Francis: in July 1878 is murdered at Cornforth Hi 300

Thomson, Mr. J. R.: in November 1875 becomes magistrate of Maclea 190; during the rebellion in 1880 defends his post gallantly, 19 to 196

Threlfall, Rev. Mr.: gives an account of occurrences at Delagoa Bay in 1823, 381

Topnaars, Hottentot clan at Walfish Bay: account of, 330 and 344

Tradition: among Bantu cannot be relied upon beyond two centuries at most, 209

Transfer dues in the Cape Colony: in 1863 are raised to four per cent. of the value of land sold, 32

Transkei; chief magistracy of: in September 1878 is formed by the union of Idutywa, Fingoland, and Galekaland, 161; laws and regulations in force in, 163; power of jurisdiction of the magistrates and judges, 163 and 164; population in 1885, 166; revenue in 1885, ib.; expenditure in 1885 on schools in, 167; statistics of education in 1904, 232

Treaties between Great Britain and Portugal: concerning the slave trade, 380; concerning commerce, 388; defining the boundary of Portuguese South Africa, 406

Treaties between the South African Republic and Portugal: the one of July 1869, 394; the one of December 1875, 397

Tshiloane, island of: is occupied by the Portuguese, 387

Tshupanga: description of, 408

Tsolo, district of: in June 1876 is formed, 190; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192; in October 1880 the residency is destroyed, 196; settlement of after the rebellion of 1880, 200

Tsomo, district of: in October 1877 is formed, 160; as part of Fingoland in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 155

Ukwelapa: custom of, 241

Umditshwa, Pondomsi chief: particulars concerning, 63; in October 1873 at his own request is received as a British subject, 183; in October 1880 goes into rebellion, 196; loses everything, and in January 1881 is obliged to surrender, 199; he is tried and sentenced to imprisonment for three years, ib.

Umdungazwe: see Gungunyana

Umfanta, petty chief in Glen Grey: joins the Galekas in the war of 1877-8, but is made a prisoner, 172

Umhlangaso, son of Faku: is a very bad adviser of the chief Umqikela, 205, 217, 218, 219, 222, 224, 225, 230, and 234; in October 1886 with a strong force invades the Xesibe country, 237; in December 1886 conducts negotiations on behalf of Umqikela, 244 *et seq.*; tries to pit Germans against British in Eastern Pondoland, 249; in 1890 rebels against Sigcawu, 250; is driven

into Griqualand East, ib.; returns to Pondoland, but is again driven out, when he takes refuge in Natal, 251; once more returns to Pondoland, and occupies a strong position in the Isiseli, ib.; in 1894 surrenders to a colonial force, and is located in the Kokstad district, 254

Umhlonhlo, Pondomsi chief: particulars concerning, 63; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69; in October 1873 at his own request is received as a British subject, 183; in October 1880 murders his magistrate and goes into rebellion, 195; saves his cattle by confiding them to the care of Umqikela, but is driven from Qumbu, though he escapes capture until 1903, 199

Umkunku, son of the Zulu chief Panda: is a refugee living in Natal, 372

Umqikela, great son of Faku: on the 29th of October 1867 succeeds his father as nominal paramount chief of the Pondos, 69 and 212; is autocratic by disposition, 213; in October 1873 objects to certain acts of the Cape government, 183; conducts himself in an unfriendly manner towards the Cape Colony, 203, 205, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, and 230; by a proclamation by Sir Bartle Frere on the 4th of September 1878 is no longer to be regarded as paramount chief of the Pondos, 215; in October 1887 dies, 247

Umsikaba, district of: in 1894 is formed, 254

Umsila: meaning of the word, 212

Umtamvuna River: in 1865 becomes the southern boundary of Natal, 360

Umtasa, principal chief of Manika: in September 1880 places himself under the protection of the British South Africa Company, 401; particulars concerning, 402, 403, and 405

Umtata, district of: in March 1876 is formed, 170; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180

Umtata, town of: condition in 1885 of, 180

Umxoli, petty Galeka chief: in August 1877 is bruised in a quarrel at a Fingo wedding, which leads to the ninth Kaffir war, 156

Umzila, chief of the Matshangana: career of, 393 and 394

Umzimkulu, district of: in March 1875 is added to the British dominions, 186; in October 1879 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 192

Union Steamship Company: particulars concerning, 149

Vatwahs: description of, 375 and 376

Victoria West, village of: in February 1871 is greatly damaged by a sudden flood, when sixty-two lives are lost, 133

de Villiers, Mr. (later Sir Henry): in 1871 is a member of the federation commission, 128; proceedings in parliament of, 137; in November 1872 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony under responsible government, 146

[illegible]ntary bill: in 1875 is passed by both houses of the Cape [illegible]nt and becomes law, 145

Vooruitzigt, farm on which the Kimberley diamond mine is situated: is purchased by the Cape government, 281

Waldensian, the: on the 13th of October 1862 is wrecked at Struys Point, 29

Walfish Bay: description of, 329; in May 1868 all buildings at this place are plundered and destroyed by Hottentots, 323; in March 1878 is proclaimed part of the British dominions, 338; in August 1884 is formally annexed to the Cape Colony, ib.

Warner, Mr. E. J.: in 1865 is stationed at Southeyville with the title of Tembu agent, 54 and 57

Warner, Mr. J. C.: government agent at Glen Grey: transactions of in connection with the removal of the Emigrant Tembus, 45, 46, 50, and 51; in 1865 is stationed at Idutywa with the title of British resident, 54; in October 1869 is withdrawn, when the office is abolished, ib.

Warner, Mr. H. B.: in 1894 becomes magistrate of Tabankulu, 254

Warren, Colonel Charles: commands the volunteers in the suppression of the Griqualand West rebellion, 296, 298, 299, and 301

Warrene, Mr.: on the 23rd of October 1880 is murdered by the Pondomsis, 195

Waterboer, Nicholas, Griqua captain: particulars concerning, 288, 290, and 295

Weights and measures: see English

Welsh, Mr. A. R.: in September 1877 is appointed magistrate at Tsolo, 190; at the commencement of the rebellion of 1880 is beleagured by the Pondomsis, 196 and 197

de Wet, Mr. (afterwards Sir Jacobus): on the 13th of May 1884 becomes secretary for native affairs in the Cape Colony, 219; makes strenuous efforts to arrange matters amicably with the Pondos, 219, 220, 224, 226, 227, 228, and 229

Whale fishery: in 1817 is commenced by the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, 374

Wheat growing in Natal: particulars concerning, 358

Whindus, Captain E. J.: in January 1882 is sent from Capetown with a party of volunteers to Walfish Bay to protect the stores there, 345; in September 1884 is appointed resident magistrate at Port St. John's, 217

White, Dr. Henry: in November 1872 becomes treasurer of the Cape Colony under responsible government, 146

William Christian, captain of the Bondelzwarts clan of Hottentots: mention of, 334 and 344

William Nota, Hlubi headman: dealings with, 204; is treated as an enemy by the Pondos in November 1885, and is driven from the Rode, 224; further particulars concerning, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, and 239

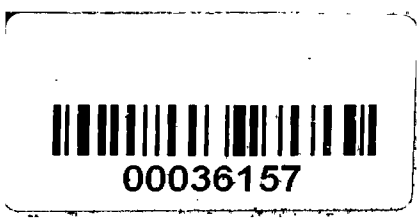
Willowvale, district of: in September 1878 is formed, 161; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 166; is settled by Galekas willing to come under colonial jurisdiction, 162
Windvogelberg: is named after its last Bushman occupant, 3
Witchcraft: great numbers of people are obliged to flee from Pondoland on account of being accused of dealing in, 231
Withuis Kloof: action of the 9th of June 1878 at, 298
Wodehouse, district of: in 1871 is formed, 131; in 1872 is constituted an electoral division, 141
Wodehouse, Lady: on the 6th of October 1866 dies, 83
Wodehouse, Sir Philip: on the 15th of January 1862 takes the oaths of office as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner, 20; positions previously held by, 21; in 1862 visits British Kaffraria, 24; reverses his first policy, 27 and 28; from February to November 1864 resides in the eastern province, 34; in 1869 locates a number of Bantu clans in Nomansland, 68; is in conflict with the parliament, 100; on the 20th of May 1870 leaves South Africa, 109; subsequent career of, ib.
Wool: quantity produced in 1865 in the Cape Colony, 43
Wrecks, account of: of the *Waldensian* in October 1862, 29; of a number of ships in Table Bay in a great gale on the 17th of May 1865, 76 to 78; of the *Eastern Province* in June 1865, 38; of the *Dane* in December 1865, 78; of the *Bosphorus* in October 1867, 95; of shipping in Algoa Bay in October 1859 and September 1869, 105; of seven vessels at East London in May 1872, 150; of the *Jane Davies* on the 26th of May 1872 near East London, ib.; in July 1872 of four vessels at Natal, 368
Wright, Mr. William: in May 1873 becomes resident with Gangelizwe, 167; in March 1876 becomes magistrate at Emjanyana and chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper, 170
van Wyk, Hermanus: mention of, 326
Wynberg Railway Company: particulars concerning, 11

Xalanga, district of: in July 1878 is formed, 172; in August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, 180
Xavier, Major Cardas; in May 1891 commands Portuguese volunteers at Andrada, 405
Xesibe clan: account of, 63; feud between the Pondos and, 237 *et seq.*
Xito, Galeka tribal priest: duties of, 160; leads the principal Xosa column at the battle of Kentani, ib.

Zibi, Hlubi chief: in 1869 has a location in Nomansland assigned to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse, 68; in January 1872 asks to be taken under the authority of the Cape Colony, 69
Zumbo: in 1862 is reoccupied by the Portuguese, 389

Cowan & Co., Limited, Printers, Perth.

C B B S
36157



Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019